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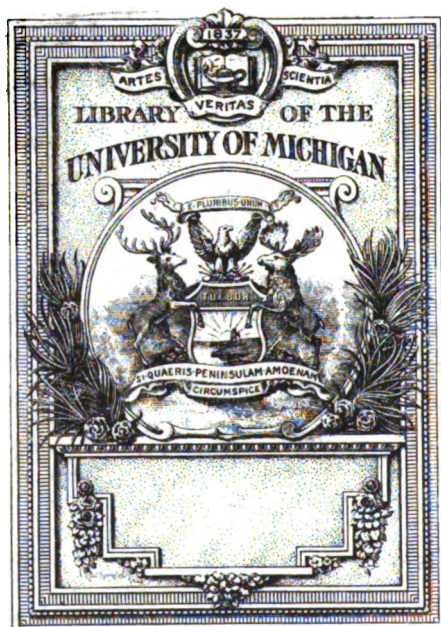
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**THE
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M D C C C C V

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP IN NEW YORK

EDWARD B. WHITNEY

THERE is nothing at all new about the doctrine of municipal ownership, in the proper sense of the term. There is nothing new about the doctrine of municipal ownership, except in this country in its application to street railroad lines; and for some years New York ran successfully a railroad over the Brooklyn Bridge. A city street is a piece of real estate. The public owns it and everything under and over it, from the center of the earth to the zenith, except so far as it has been subjected to some servitude or servitudes, (or, as we more commonly say, speaking from the standpoint of the recipient, some franchise or franchises have been granted) to private parties; as, for instance, a servitude by which the city must submit to private ownership of a street railroad line, water-pipe, gas-pipe, or electric conduit. A municipal ownership man is often for practical reasons willing that the public should submit for a limited term of years, and upon receiving adequate compensation; but he is absolutely and unequivocally opposed to the creation of any such servitude in perpetuity, or for longer than the very shortest term that will attract private capital. He believes that from time to time an opportunity should be afforded for the municipality to resume possession, and either supply her own transportation, water, gas,

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or electricity, or else at her option grant the franchise to somebody else upon better terms. A municipal operation man believes in having his city operate one or more or all of these franchises for herself. Thus New York has for generations supplied her own water. Other cities are supplying their own gas or electricity. All cities maintain their own sewerage system and their own bridges. Nobody in New York advocates the sale of her water plant to any private corporation. So far as water is concerned, all of her citizens are municipal-operation men. Those who wish to have the city supply her own gas and electricity as well as water are called socialists by those of a different mind. I suppose that in cities which supply their own gas and electricity, but get their water through private companies, a municipal water-supply man would be called a socialist.

Notwithstanding the well-settled distinction between the two terms, the defenders of the present system, for obvious reasons, are apt to treat municipal ownership and municipal operation as synonymous, and even identify the supporters of either with those agitating for national operation of the whole railroad system of the country. The latter doubtless all believe in municipal operation as well. But the converse is not true. Few of the believers in municipalization even of the street railroads believe that the nation should take a similar step. The conditions are too different in every respect.

Originally, if we may judge them by their works, the citizens and officials of New York were municipal ownership men. They did not believe in granting away rights in the streets except for limited terms. They laid wooden water-pipes through her streets in colonial times, and began in 1833 her present system of municipal operation of the water supply. The early gas franchises, beginning in 1823, were for twenty or thirty years. Even the street railroad franchises granted by the municipality in 1851 (the first, except those for the termini of the Hudson River and Harlem roads) were accompanied by a provision that the local authorities could at any time take over the railroad for actual cost plus ten per cent. This precaution may have been suggested by the struggle with the then powerful omnibus lines, whose claims

and whose political influence had so long subjected the citizens to high fares and bad service, and shown the dangers of monopoly conditions. In some other cities municipal ownership has been preserved, so that they can now, if they wish, give municipal operation a full trial. As to her railroads, New York is in no such fortunate position. An era of perpetual or practically perpetual servitudes commenced with the era of corruption at the middle of the nineteenth century. The limitations of 1851 were never again imposed. Governors and mayors from time to time protested in veto messages, as did Edwin D. Morgan in 1860 and William R. Grace in 1886, but legislators and aldermen did not heed their protests. The property thus practically given away has since become vastly more valuable, not only by natural increase of population and travel, but also by legislative permission to adopt new motive powers, and to form great combinations by means of leases, consolidations, and intricate stock-purchasing methods—permission granted without recompense or condition, except in the single instance of the “free transfer” condition imposed upon the right to make a lease or traffic contract, a condition that was ignored for many years and has never yet been fully respected, because it is not accompanied with any adequate remedy to prevent its violation, except a remedy available only to the State Railroad Commission. It was hoped that the city still held a partial key to the situation through the reserved right to purchase the original street railroads of 1851 at cost plus ten per cent.; but, by a course of reasoning which a layman would probably find it difficult to understand, the courts held that while the grants of that year had been validated, the conditions upon which they had been accepted, and without which they would not have been given, were null and void.

As a result of a half-century of waste, three groups of men control practically perpetual franchises for most of the existing surface mileage, as well as the entire elevated railroad system. These franchises are so extensive and exhaustive that as long as they exist the city cannot compete in her own densely populated districts. Although cheaply enough obtained by the companies from the legislature or the aldermen, the franchises have grown

too valuable for the city to buy back. She has not got the cash. She cannot borrow under the constitution of the state beyond ten per cent. of her assessed valuation. Her borrowing capacity is all needed for other purposes, and even if the constitution were amended she could not afford to pay the present value of what she would have to purchase. Hence the famous Dartmouth College case now stands as an insurmountable barrier to municipal operation or municipal ownership of the New York street railway system. A franchise worth a million dollars may be given away for fifty cents; but it costs the city a million dollars to get it back again, even the next day; and the highest court of the state, by the casting vote of a single judge, in a case coming from Buffalo, has held that this is true although it be susceptible of proof that the franchise was obtained by corrupting the municipal officials. It is true that a clause in the New York City charter might conceivably lead to a different result; but that clause has not yet received a liberal judicial construction, while all present franchises are probably safe from it on account of the length of time they have been acquiesced in. It is quite conceivable that the course of events may in the future reduce the present market value of the franchises whose value is capitalized in the watered stocks of these corporations. There may be legislation against overcrowded cars, as there has been against overcrowded tenements. Congestion of traffic may force street-car travel up, down, or out of certain central streets. Full underground development may reduce the value of some of the surface lines, and others may be separately condemned and taken back by the city, to serve as branches of the subway. But at present there cannot be an effective movement in New York for municipalizing her street surface railway system. It is for this reason that the present movement is centered upon the proposed new subways, and upon the transmission of gas and electricity.

As to the two latter, owing to the brilliant work of Mr. Monroe, the Commissioner of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity under the Low administration in 1902 and 1903, to the conduct of his successor in 1904, and to the investigation by the Stevens legislative committee in 1905, the movement is strong, and it will

probably become a movement for complete municipalization. As to street railroads, if we may judge from the words of its leaders, its tendency is conservative, not radical. It is for municipal ownership, not for present municipal operation. It is to revert to earlier conditions, before Tweed and Jake Sharp and their contemporaries introduced the perpetual servitude; although radicals also are taking part in the agitation, and, especially if its opponents become too high-handed, its ultimate course cannot be predicted.

Since 1897, under wise provisions of the city charter, no street surface railroad franchise can be granted by the local authorities for more than twenty-five years. The franchises thus granted are generally in outlying districts of comparatively sparse population, but in the future the limitation of their term may be of practical importance. There is, however, no such limitation upon the power of the legislature at Albany. While the legislative right to grant franchises has been to a certain extent deputed to the local authorities, Albany maintains a concurrent jurisdiction. There is a continual pressure upon the legislature for the exercise of the power; and bills to that end frequently pass one or both houses. They are very difficult to oppose, because they are so drawn as not to show upon their face just what is sought or what may be done if they are passed. This is partly due to a constitutional amendment, adopted thirty years ago for reform purposes, which prohibits the passage of a private or local bill granting the right to lay down railroad tracks. When the promoter wishes to obtain such a right, he must therefore prepare some amendment or supplement to the general railroad law of the state. Only an expert in that law can define the effect of the proposed provision; and nobody can foretell all the places where it will hit. Recently bills seeking in obscure and general language to obtain undisclosed privileges have become familiarly known as "sneak bills." Such bills are generally wilful sneaks, but under our constitution the most honest among them is forced to be a sneak upon its face. Consequently, it has turned out that the boldest form of evasion of the constitution, such as a bill confined in application to companies licensed in some particular year and month in cities of some specified size, is the least likely to conceal

a larcenous intent; and the only safeguard for the citizens has turned out to be an attitude of opposition to every bill amending the law with relation to street railroads, unless it can be satisfactorily proved to create no servitude, or unless it is specifically made inapplicable to New York City, or limited to twenty-five years.

Schemes of this kind are now every year vigorously pushed, such as the re-location bill, by which the companies seek leave to remove their tracks from one street to another; in other words, to exchange comparatively unprofitable privileges for others which shall be comparatively fat, while equally perpetual. Early in 1903 certain voluntary citizens' organizations instituted united opposition to all of this class of bills, and since then none have become laws against their opposition, the only ones which passed having been vetoed by the governor. The city will never be safe, however, until a constitutional amendment is adopted, extending her twenty-five-year charter limitation to legislative grants. Voluntary citizens' organizations are not likely at every moment to combine the ability, energy, legal skill, financial backing and newspaper support, necessary to success in a contest which on the other side will be unintermittent, as corporations do not die, neither do they sleep. Their managers know that, while no gifts are to be had from an aroused public, nevertheless there are periods when the arouasers, like the rest of the public, are concentrating attention somewhere else. Then, whether attention be diverted by issues involving human liberty and the national life as in the time of Tweed, or by the tariff, or red lights, or what not, new servitudes will be quietly imposed, just as according to ancient tradition the worthy deacons of Trinity Church in colonial times used at favorable moments to get up at midnight and push its fences out over the unoccupied land adjacent. Against such dangers a constitutional amendment is the only safeguard.

Franchises for elevated and underground railroads in New York are not granted by the city authorities, but by a peculiar body known as the Rapid Transit Commission. This consists of the Mayor and Comptroller, the President for the time being of a quasi-political organization of business men known as the Cham-

ber of Commerce, and five colleagues, the latter constituting a body which is self-perpetuating so long as the statute by which it was established shall remain unrepealed—in other words, like Russia and Turkey, the board is a despotism tempered by assassination. Like the other despotisms mentioned, it has a natural tendency toward a régime of private privilege, but it is more amenable than they to organized public opinion. It has been a little slow, but much of the delay with which it has been charged has been due to the perversity of outside litigants, administrative officials, and judges. On the whole, in a deliberate sort of way it has done good in the past. The first subway franchise was indeed granted for a very long term—fifty years with an option, whose legality has been questioned, for twenty-five more—but it was an experiment, and the city then could very likely not have obtained anything better. Subways are now no longer experimental. She can now expect to get very advantageous terms, if she demands them.

While the newly projected subways will doubtless be financially successful, so that they will attract the investment of capital, their construction and successful operation will be more difficult than in the case of a surface railroad, and hence that much less adapted to experiments in municipal management. This is generally recognized by the public, and there has so far been no definite movement for immediate municipal operation. The leaders of the present municipal ownership agitation publicly demand only that the city shall keep as many cards in her hands as possible, shall be put under servitude for but the shortest necessary period, and shall not be absolutely bound by law to entrust the operation of the subways to the companies which construct them. They desire that the city, when their construction is completed, shall be free to contract for their operation upon the best terms then obtainable, holding in reserve a power to operate them herself if no reasonable proposition is received. They are content to hold this power in reserve until the experimental period is over, although they claim that in view of the smallness of probable expense from damage suits for subway accidents, of the large possible revenues from pipe galleries, and of the elimination of dividends, municipal operation would reduce the average fare to three cents.

What we seem now to be sure of is that the city, by the time at latest when the future subways shall be not much more than half as old as surface railroading is now, will be free to take over their equipment and run the roads herself if she wishes to do so, and if she can obtain permission from Albany or has meanwhile achieved municipal independence. In another quarter century we shall know a great deal more than we do now about the ability of an American city to do its own public work. New York's operations as a purveyor of water will have been long conducted upon a much more extensive scale. She will have experimented in supplying herself, and probably her citizens also, with electric lighting. Other cities, less handicapped by extravagances of a past generation, will have operated their own surface railroads.

Quite possibly, however, from over-stubbornness of conservative opposition or from some exposure of corporate debauchery or from whatever other reason, the more radical element will have its way, and the city will soon be brought into an experiment in railroading upon a large scale. Such an experiment is so novel in our country that it is easy to be over-confident in predicting what will happen. I think that the conventional conservative view, as well as that of the radicals, involves some doubtful assumptions. It assumes that administrative methods in a given locality are not susceptible of improvement in efficiency, overlooking not only the history of Germany and Japan, but that of our own city since the time of Tweed. It assumes that the management of a business is as difficult after the formative period is over as it was at the time when the great inventors and organizers were building it up, although experience shows the contrary. It assumes that the roads are run by their owners, whereas they are really run neither by their owners nor by those who control their policy, but, just as would happen in case of municipal operation, by salaried men. It assumes that the city would not pay salaries that would tempt a competent man, yet nothing leads so swiftly to high pecuniary reward as efficient public service, accompanied with adequate newspaper recognition. Contemplating the usually greater economy of private management, it assumes that the public is necessarily the gainer therefrom, although experience shows that the gain may all

pass into private purses, partly those of stockholders, more, perhaps, those of directors, promoters, and syndicate managers. New York's own experience of private ownership of public utilities has tended to show that the waste in expenditure under public management cuts but a small figure when contrasted with the public's loss of the increment in value of the franchises due to the growth of the city; an increment which, instead of being used for the public benefit in reducing fares or taxes, or improving accommodations, is from time to time in each case capitalized in stock of a new holding corporation, whose bonds are issued to take up the stock of the last previous one, and whose dividends are "in the shops." It assumes that the situation is still the same as that of a generation ago, when the railroads were being built up by railroad men. Their present control is in the hands of another class of men, whose training was that of the stock market or of politics itself, thus coming from a sea where there are plenty more fish—men who were laymen in railroad matters when they took control of them, and whom many citizens believe that municipal operation could advantageously replace with other fish from the same sea, or from a better.

The old dogma that street railroads must be kept in private hands in order to keep them out of politics, and to avoid an era of corruption, is pretty well obsolete. It is generally recognized that the public-service companies have been in politics all through their history, and that as their control concentrates in fewer and fewer hands they tend more and more to become one of its predominant forces, a force apter to do evil than to do good. It is now commonly said that the city must own its public-service corporations unless it wishes to be owned by them; that they must be put openly and directly into politics in order to reduce within proper limits their present influence as an indirect political factor. Nor does the reputation of the last generation of municipal officials in New York contrast unfavorably on the whole with that of their contemporaries engaged in the management of the great corporations. The morals of the immoral have been the same, whether they were in municipal or corporate employ. They do not steal outright as a rule, but they grant privileges for insufficient reasons.

It is also common to overlook the fact that the street-railroad system of a great city is better inspected than any other work in the world. Almost every voter's eye is on it every day, and there are plenty of voters competent to compare it with that of any other city, here or abroad. If the management were in the hands of the elected city officials, nothing else would be handled by them with so strict a care. There is no good reason to believe that there would be any falling off from present efficiency, or that any great length of time would elapse before every real improvement in use elsewhere were introduced here. The public as a whole is many times more interested in street-car transportation than in the paving and cleaning of the streets; yet the way in which each improvement in street cleaning and street paving has educated the public will afford some idea of what may be expected if street-car transportation is municipalized. Moreover, the citizens will be practically unanimous in every demand, and their demands will always be among those things which are uppermost in their minds. In this way much greater efficiency can be expected than from such organizations, as for instance, the Federal Post-office Department, whose management can never be expected to be the main issue in a political campaign, for which few citizens have any standard of comparison, and whose appropriations are sought by such warring interests as the fast through mail, the pseudo-periodical, and the rural free delivery.

Undoubtedly, on the other hand, there will be disadvantages in municipal operation which may prove serious. The employees of the new city departments would probably organize and raise large sums of money to secure pensions, and to increase their wages to a standard unfairly higher than those of citizens of equal skill in other industries. With such objects in view they would very likely throw a casting vote from time to time in favor of political factions whose own purposes would not be in the city's best interest. Their success might make them an unduly favored caste, and be a heavy drain upon the purse of the city and of the rent-payer; or, on the other hand, their mere numbers, added to those of the employees in the present city departments, might raise a counter-movement in favor of the equalization of wages in all

industries, municipal or non-municipal, requiring an equal degree of skill and training. It is not probable, however, that any increase in wages would exhaust what the city would gain in the exchange from the increment in value of her own franchises.

It is not at all impossible that municipalization of street railroad lines would involve to a certain extent a redistribution of property. Efficiency would be more likely to increase than diminish; but fares would be very apt to come down. This might be at the expense of the tax-payer, and of every person upon whose shoulders the local taxes can be shifted in whole or part. In other words, an appreciable proportion of the value of taxable property might be taken away from its previous owners and distributed among the traveling public, while the annual savings of the rent-payer might appreciably be reduced to such an extent as with many to overbalance any saving in traveling expense, just as some redistribution of property follows every serious change of public policy, whether it be toward war and colonies and pensions, or toward a high protective tariff, or toward some such development of legislation as that which created the present industrial combinations, and among them those combinations of public-service corporations to which the municipal ownership movement is immediately due.

Undoubtedly some changes in the municipal government would be required before municipalization of railroads could reach the highest success. One of these is already under way in New York. The powers of the aldermen as a general legislative body are decreasing. Experience has shown that governors and mayors are generally defenders of the public interest, while the majority of legislators and aldermen tend always to scatter privileges with a free hand. In other words, the man elected to serve the whole public, and upon whom it has its eye, and whose virtues it stands ready to recognize if not reward, is apt to represent the whole public, the obscure man, elected to represent in obscurity a small locality, representing in particular some group of individuals to whom alone his name and personality are familiar, is apt to represent the locality and these individuals in particular, and pay but little regard to the larger public interest. This is prob-

ably no American peculiarity. The results of an elective system by *scrutin d'arrondissement*, which Gambetta had prophesied "would favor the return of men of mediocre abilities, solicitors only of local interests, in place of politicians with more extended views," are said to be as palpable in the Republic of France as here. Washington is well governed by a triumvirate which owes its appointment to the President. New York is rapidly concentrating the larger powers in the hands of a slightly larger body elected by the people, and relegating the aldermen to the local affairs of their respective districts.

The city is also beginning to awaken to the disadvantages of a civil-service system which in so many cases prohibits a removal on the ground of comparative inefficiency—that a better man can be got for the salary—and allows it only for some deficiency or offense to be affirmatively proved, with right of appeal to a judiciary whose rulings have built up a system incompatible with the existence of responsible municipal government. Before railroads are municipalized there must be some approach to the federal civil-service system, which, while restricting the power of appointment, places no ban upon efforts to raise the standard of efficiency in the most effective way.

THE CHICAGO TRACTION QUESTION

CLARENCE S. DARROW

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP sentiment has had a remarkable growth in the United States during the last ten years. This sentiment is one of the many manifestations of the deep conviction that the present division of wealth is at once unjust and absurd. All sorts of theories for the more equitable distribution of wealth have found ready advocates on the platform and in the press in every enlightened nation of the world. However various the plans and schemes of social change, it is beyond dispute that the tendency of all nations has been toward a wider and completer collective life. In every country in the world the people have been constantly enlarging the functions and duties of the state, and political organizations are more and more becoming industrial institutions.

In Europe, municipal and even national ownership of public utilities is no longer looked upon as radical or new, and the rapid growth of these ideas abroad has had much to do with sentiment in the United States.

The most casual student of social questions has likewise seen the enormous fortunes that have been built up by the private ownership of public utilities. The larger part of all the stocks and bonds issued by public-service corporations are based upon franchises and not on private property. By this means, the public is constantly and systematically taxed upon its own property, and this vast tax, in the shape of interest on bonds and dividends on stock, is taken by a handful of exploiters and stock-jobbers—who have thus contrived to build up private fortunes from public wealth.

No doubt, the strength of municipal ownership throughout the world has had much to do with the sentiment in Chicago. This city, too, has not been without able advocates of municipal ownership during the whole of the twenty years just passed. Chief among these may be mentioned John P. Altgeld, the once able and fearless Governor of Illinois, and Henry D. Lloyd, the scholar and author.

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But after due credit is given to all the advocates of municipal ownership and the influence coming from social agitators at home and abroad, the fact remains that the street-car companies are chiefly responsible for the stern determination of the citizens of Chicago to take charge of this business for themselves.

✓ The traction question in Chicago began to agitate our citizens in 1865, and at more or less regular intervals and in varying forms it has been a vital public question ever since. It was born not of public agitation or out of the theories of dreamers, but from a great public wrong; a wrong almost unanimously condemned by the people and the press of that day, and which in spite of all sorts of schemes and plans is as keenly felt at this time as it was forty years ago.

The first street-car line was built in Chicago in 1858. This was constructed under an ordinance passed by the City Council and granted to four men. The next year the legislature passed a special charter validating this ordinance and creating the Chicago City Railway Company with the rights, powers and franchises conferred on these four men; and giving the corporation a life of twenty-five years. This act was amended in 1865, and a second corporation formed, taking grants under the ordinance of 1858 and under a few others which were passed before 1865. Most of the important streets of that day were granted for a term of twenty-five years to the street-railway companies for the use of horse cars. Twenty-five years was the life-term of the horse-railway corporations created by the legislature. The streets so devoted to railway uses in 1860 are leading thoroughfares to-day.

In its early life, Chicago was ambitious, and, like other young and ambitious towns, was very ready to give all kinds of privileges. By the year 1865 the rights of all the more desirable streets were taken. The street railway business, meanwhile, grew with the city and with the country, and the owners were awake to its present, and still greater prospective, value.

In 1865 a bill, backed by the street-railway companies, was presented to the legislature of Illinois, and this bill provided that the charter of the companies should be extended for ninety-nine years from the time of their original grants or until 1958; and it

further provided, in language more or less ambiguous and uncertain, that certain contracts, rights, etc., should be extended with them. This act was passed, like many other acts of the legislature before and since, in the face of an almost unanimous, not to say ferocious, public opinion, and with the united opposition of the press and all the civic bodies of that day. It was promptly vetoed by Governor Ogelsby, the vigorous war governor of Illinois, and as promptly passed over his veto.

The street railways and a large portion of the public at that time, and ever since, have claimed that the law not only extended the charters of the companies to 1958, but also the rights and privileges of the companies in the public streets for the same period of time.

Not even the act of 1865 could claim the undivided attention of a growing city like Chicago in those early years, and so from time to time the street-car companies picked up one street after another as new avenues were opened and new thoroughfares were made. They picked them up with that avidity common to public-service corporations who always want everything in sight, and they were aided by that lazy complacency, at the best, which ever animates public bodies made up of men interested with their own affairs. ✓

After 1865, the City Council generally fixed limits of twenty years for their privileges in the streets, but they continued to grant franchises as fast as requests were made for them.

In 1875 it became plain that the city of Chicago had outgrown its old charter, and a new one was adopted in its place. This charter contained a provision that the right to occupy the streets could not be granted to a street railroad for a longer term than twenty years.

After the first indignation over the act of 1865 had passed away, public feeling was quiescent until 1883. In this year many of the important grants by the City Council expired by limitation. The street-railway companies promptly asserted the claim that the act of 1865 had extended their franchises for ninety-nine years. The public were very angry at the time; they made dire threats against the companies; they even talked loudly for municipal own-

ership as a solution of the question. A long period of agitation for the extension of franchises was thus carried on in the City Council and by the public. In this contest, the street-railway companies had an enormous money interest at stake. The people had no interest that could be ascertained; and, as always happens, the people soon grew tired and clamored for a settlement—which meant surrender. The public, in a cowardly and slothful manner, granted an extension of twenty years; and the battle was put off for another generation to fight out. After that, the city continued to grant new franchises as fast as new streets were opened, and the street-car companies were alert to seize upon every thoroughfare leading to the heart of the city, and every bridge or tunnel which provided means of crossing the river. This condition continued until 1903, when the general franchises expired after the twenty-year extension.

Mr. Charles T. Yerkes obtained control, in 1883, of the street-car lines operating in the North and West divisions of the city of Chicago, and then he began a gigantic scheme of financial legerdemain, by which bonds and stock upon the properties of the West and North divisions were issued without limit. Mr. Yerkes entered the street-railroad business from the Stock Exchange in the city of Chicago, after having acquired full knowledge of the affairs of the companies and complete information as to the possible earnings and development of the systems. Soon after his entrance the North Chicago Railway Company, with a capital of \$500,000, was merged in the North Chicago Street Railway Company, with a capital of \$7,920,000, and the West Division Company, with a capital of \$1,250,000, was merged in the West Chicago Street, which had a capital of \$13,000,000. To this was added the West Chicago Tunnel Company, with \$1,500,000 of capital, and the Chicago Passenger Railway Company, with a capital of \$1,340,300, and later still these companies were leased to the Union Traction Company with \$32,000,000 of stock, on top of the stock of the underlying companies. In the meantime, bonds had been issued on these companies to the extent of more than \$25,000,000, all of which are now outstanding.

During this time a series of activities in the railroad business

was going on in the outlying streets. The Consolidated Traction Company was organized with a capital stock of \$15,000,000 and bonds of \$13,000,000 more, and later this system was added to the Chicago Union Traction Company. Even the city of Chicago, with all its enterprise and industry, could not stand under this load of stock and bonds, and gradually it became evident that enough nickels could not be collected to pay the interest upon the last issues of stock within any reasonable time and keep the property in physical condition to perform decent public service.

The South Side Company had not been engaged so much in issuing stocks and bonds as in operating its railway. This company, up to the present time, has \$18,000,000 of stock without any underlying bonds. During a large part of the street-car life of Chicago, the South Side Company has been paying 15 per cent. dividends, together with many stock dividends and other prizes. Its stock has sold as high as 350. Under this dividend power, it was fairly worth about \$250 per share, or \$45,000,000, figuring on an income basis and assuming perpetual rights on the streets.

The North Chicago Company, with its 500,000 of stock, sold out to the North Chicago Street under a contract guaranteeing 35 per cent. dividends, thus making their stock worth at least \$3,000,000, on the same assumption.

The Chicago West Division transferred its property to the West Chicago Street with a 30 per cent. dividend guaranteed, thus making its stock pay dividends on \$6,000,000. The North Chicago Street, after taking the North Chicago Company, issued \$8,000,000 of stock, which usually paid 12 per cent. before the worth \$16,000,000 or more. The West Chicago Street issued \$13,000,000 of stock, which has fluctuated above and below par, and has paid 6 per cent. and upwards until their recent difficulties, giving a value to the stock considerably over \$13,000,000. The Chicago Passenger was capitalized at \$1,250,000 and regularly paid 6 per cent.

The bonds of the companies were \$25,700,000, thus bringing the total of the stocks and bonds, upon a 6 per cent. basis, to over \$111,000,000. To this was added the \$32,000,000 stock of the Union Traction Company and the \$27,500,000 stock and bonds

of the Consolidated Traction, which have sold at varying prices from 7 up to par, and were worth at least enough to make the grand total \$150,000,000, upon the basis of dividends.

This sum is about the fair amount of the total street-railroad stock and bonds, upon which the citizens of Chicago have been expected to contribute, and have already contributed enough nickels to pay 6 per cent. interest. The total value of tangible property of these companies would now fall a long ways short of \$35,000,000 and could be replaced new for \$50,000,000.

While these schemes of stock-jobbing were in progress another plan was carried on to strengthen the position of the companies. After a memorable struggle, the legislature passed an act, in 1895, meant to cure many of the legal difficulties and defects of title arising through the consolidation of the street-railway companies, and which arbitrarily extended their franchises for fifty years. This was passed in the face of the most hostile public opinion and against the protest of practically every newspaper in the state. John P. Altgeld was then governor of Illinois, and in a notable state paper he vetoed this bill. Every effort was made to pass the law over his veto, but without avail.

In 1896 Altgeld was defeated for governor and John R. Tanner elected in his place. Promptly upon the assembling of the legislature the street-car interests were present with a new bill. This law was meant to cure many of the defects above referred to, and also provided that the City Council should have the right to extend franchises for fifty years. The bill was passed against the same protest that was raised two years before. However, it met a different fate at the governor's hands and became a law. The fight was then transferred to the Chicago City Council. The street-railway companies were confident of success, but the citizens were so thoroughly aroused that even the friendly aldermen did not dare to face the unanimous protest, and the City Council finally refused to extend their grants. From that time to the present, the city of Chicago has been constantly beset to give new franchises of various kinds to the street-car companies.

The general franchises again expired in 1903. For two or three years before this date the street-railway question had been a

subject of constant contention and of political action. No council and mayor were ready to take the responsibility of granting extension; but temporary permits were given from time to time subsequent to 1903, which kept the franchises alive and gave the companies some legal standing in the streets.

The legislature had passed in the meantime a public-policy act. This act provided that upon a petition of 25 per cent. of the voters of the city any question of public policy could be submitted to the voters to ascertain their views. Three times a petition was circulated and signed, calling for an expression of opinion on the extension of the franchise and the municipal ownership of the street-railway lines, and three times these questions were presented to the voters at a regular election. In each instance the people of Chicago, by an overwhelming majority, declared against extending franchises and in favor of municipal ownership.

In the legislature of 1903 the people took a hand in the settlement of this question. The public opinion of the state crystallized on what is known as the Mueller law, which authorized the city of Chicago to own and operate its street-railway lines. The machinery of the legislature was organized to prevent the passage of this bill, but the people and the press were almost unanimous in its support. The organization depended on the speaker of the house, who by the use of the gavel was to put aside the Mueller law and in its place substitute a bill which was bitterly opposed by the people of the state. This precipitated a riot in the house, and the speaker was driven from his chair and the Mueller bill was passed. Under this law the city of Chicago was given the power to own and operate its street-car lines.

Just before the vote was taken on the Mueller bill, the legislature was startled by the report that the Union Traction Company had passed into the hands of friendly receivers in the federal courts. Since that time these receivers have been operating the system and various orders and injunctions have been issued to prevent the interference of the city with its more important lines.

In the campaign of last April, Judge Edward F. Dunne was the Democratic candidate upon a platform which expressly provided that no franchise-extension should be granted and that Chi-

cago should at once take the necessary steps to get the municipal ownership of street-car lines. Upon this issue Judge Dunne received a majority of over 25,000 and his administration is pledged to carry out the plan.

The municipal control of the street railways of Chicago not only affects this city, but will be far-reaching in its consequences. Every great capitalist in America is interested in its result, and the obstacles thrown in the way of its accomplishment can be imagined much better than told.

It is fair to say that the interests which the street-railroad companies hope to save in Chicago would be worth not less than \$150,000,000, and to be added to this is a yearly growth of franchise value of at least \$5,000,000, compounded year by year. It is perfectly obvious that the street-car business, with all its vast opportunities for exploitation, will not be given up without a serious struggle. These companies are in the daily receipt of \$50,000. Everybody familiar with legal affairs understands that a good many high-priced lawyers can be employed from such receipts. Everybody is also wise enough to understand that under the complex administration of law by our courts high-priced lawyers can make plenty of trouble upon almost any proposition.

Various proceedings, pro and con, are now pending in the state and federal courts of Chicago. First, the federal court claims a certain jurisdiction over the North and West Side lines on account of the receivership which is still in force. Under this an injunction has been issued forbidding the use of certain streets. A bill has likewise been filed by the city railway in the federal court asking for an injunction against the occupancy of any streets now covered by their lines. Cases in *quo warranto* have been commenced by the attorney-general of the state and states-attorney of the county of Cook in the state courts, which ask that these companies be ousted from the streets of Chicago. In the meantime plans and specifications have been prepared for the construction of a municipal line upon the streets where the franchises have clearly expired, and these plans have been submitted by the Mayor to the Council for their action.

In a multitude of statutes and ordinances passed at different

times and through conflicting influences, many doubtful questions of law must arise, and through the machinery of the courts considerable time must be taken in ascertaining and construing these conflicting rights. The street-railway companies claim that not only does the act of 1865 extend its protection of ninety-nine years over all franchises granted by the City Council prior to the passage of that act, but that likewise every franchise granted by the City Council up to the present date, whatever its terms and limitations, is under the protecting shelter of the old act of 1865, and does not expire until 1958.

It is as stoutly maintained by the city interests that this act of 1865, even if constitutional, did not extend the franchises existing at the time; secondly, if constitutional, the companies were only authorized to use horse-power upon their lines; and thirdly, in any event it extended only such right as had been granted previous to 1865. Under any one of these interpretations the franchise value of these companies will be very small and such an interpretation by the courts will overthrow an incubus that has held Chicago in its paralyzing grasp for almost half a century.

Out of the \$150,000,000 that is to be made dividend-paying property by these street-railway companies, over \$100,000,000, or two-thirds of the whole amount, consists in franchises in the public streets, that are the property of the citizens of Chicago. It is this vast sum that Chicago is asked to surrender to New York speculators for the sake of peace; it is for this that the people are contending, and are seeking to save for themselves and still more for their descendants.

Practical municipal ownership and operation is not a new venture in Chicago. The city already owns and operates its own water system, which has steadily grown to be one of the largest and best in the United States. Through this municipal water plant the citizens of Chicago have been furnished with water at about one-half the price ordinarily charged to consumers by private companies. The city has regularly met all its payments of interest on the water bonds, has provided for large extensions of its system and turned many millions of dollars into the public fund. In the last twenty-five years there have been occasional

scandals in the water department, but these have in no way compared with the scandals growing out of the relations of the street-car companies to the municipality. And probably if the question were submitted to the people to-day not one person out of one hundred would vote to turn the water plant over to a private corporation.

Chicago has also been gradually building up a municipal electric-lighting plant which has shown the best results and which would long since have furnished light and heat and power to the general public, except for the fact that the lighting companies have thus far been able to influence the legislature against the passage of a bill authorizing the city company to sell their product to the people.

Our people understand that the street-car companies will not yield without stubborn resistance. How long it will be protracted no one can say. A change in the policy of the United States in reference to public-service corporations cannot come without earnest protracted effort, and in a last analysis it is a question of public opinion and public endurance. It is for Chicago to show the United States whether they have the courage and staying powers to defend their rights or whether for the sake of peace they will supinely surrender and transfer their fight to another generation, as their ancestors did in 1883.

LIGHTING SERVICE AND WATER SUPPLY, CITY OF NEW YORK

ROBERT G. MONROE

GAS and electric service in the City of New York is furnished by private corporations. Private management of gas and electric companies extending over a long period has afforded New York full opportunity to obtain all the advantages which could reasonably be expected to follow the application of business methods to the conduct of public service. For many years the state and municipality have stood together in a consistent effort to create under private ownership a competitive service in the sale of light to which the ordinary laws of trade would apply and where such laws would effectively govern and control. One company after another was chartered that the public might benefit by active competition. Competition was the thing. The Act of Incorporation of the New York Mutual Gas Light Company (1866) illustrates this intention of the legislature. Section 6 reads:

"In case the directors of the said corporation hereby created shall consolidate with or transfer the franchise hereby granted to any of the organized gas companies of the City of New York, the director or directors voting for such consolidation or transfer shall be deemed guilty of misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary of said county for a period of not less than six nor more than twelve months."

The Act of Incorporation of the Standard Gas Light Company (1886) also provided:

"And that said company (the Standard) shall not consolidate or in any way unite with any other gas-light company in said city or in any way pool its earnings or receipts with any company or organization organized for the distribution and sale of illuminating gas."

Likewise the Equitable Gas Light Company was not to

"make or enter into any consolidation, arrangement or agreement with any other company."

The same object is apparent in the legislation (1885 and 1886), authorizing the formation of the Consolidated Telegraph and Electrical Subway Company. This corporation was to pro-

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vide subway space through the streets for the electrical conductors of all *competing* companies on equal terms.

Through the device of the holding company, a recent development of corporation law, such acts prohibiting combinations have been rendered ineffective and the purpose of the legislature to secure competition in the sale of light has been defeated. As a holding company the Consolidated Gas Company of New York has absorbed the New York Mutual Gas Light Company by owning a majority of its stock notwithstanding the section in the Mutual's charter which makes it a misdemeanor for that company to consolidate. The Consolidated Gas Company now holds nine-tenths of the stock of the Standard Gas Light Company in spite of the statutory provision that the Standard "shall not consolidate or in any way unite with any other gas company." The Consolidated Gas Company, through the New Amsterdam Gas Company, an intermediary combination, is also the proprietor of the Equitable Gas Light Company, which was not to "make or enter into any combination, arrangement or agreement," and in like manner the Consolidated Gas Company, through the ownership of the stock of the Edison Company, the electrical combination, extends its authority to the Consolidated Telegraph and Electrical Subway Company and the subways, the keystone of the monopoly. With an ambidexterous rapacity a single corporation thus grasps both illuminants, dominating the entire lighting industry over the greater part of the city. The Brooklyn Union Gas Company—a consolidation of seven separate companies—holds stock control of five more. In Brooklyn a separate consolidation controls electric lighting. But in no section of the city is there really a competitive service—rivals striving to supply the same kind of light in the same district. Monopoly, the power to sell alone, is the practical condition which has developed under private control of this public utility.

The City of New York, like the householder within her boundaries, turns to the one producer to purchase light for streets and public buildings. Two years ago the municipal government questioned the reasonableness of the terms offered, denied the power of the lighting monopoly arbitrarily to fix prices, and

claimed on behalf of the city right of appeal to the courts, taking the position that a public-service corporation controlling a public utility and necessity of life cannot in justice demand and cannot in law recover more than a reasonable profit over and above the cost of production and delivery of the commodity supplied.

Though there can be no competition within the range of legal possibility, the City Charter requires that all contracts for public lighting must be awarded after public letting. In December, 1902, the customary advertisements were inserted for lighting the streets for the following year. The Consolidated Gas Company, its subsidiaries and its allies submitted bids.

When the bids were opened attention was called to the fact that the prices for ordinary street gas lamps had remained unchanged for twenty years, during which period the price of gas to general consumers had fallen fifty per cent. It was also noted that the price of arc lamps was \$146 per lamp per year, while the average price for like lamps for other cities in this country was less than ninety dollars. The service so far as gas lamps were concerned was inefficient and inadequate, and did not meet modern requirements. In the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx nearly twenty thousand open-flame lamps were distributed through dimly lighted streets. A mantle burner gives four times the illumination for the same consumption of gas. A wide extension of street lamps provided with incandescent mantles was greatly needed. The charges for electric arc lamps were so high that unless a great reduction in prices could be secured it was obviously to the interest of the public to instal a municipal electric-lighting plant to light the streets and public buildings.

Consideration of the erection of a municipal electric plant directed attention to the city's rights in the electrical subways. In 1885, soon after the passage of ordinances requiring electrical wires to be placed underground, the Consolidated Telegraph and Electrical Subway Company was formed to receive the wires of all electrical companies doing business in the city. Later the Empire City Subway Company was organized to provide space for the low-tension lighting and signal wires. As previously stated, the Consolidated Telegraph and Electrical Subway Company is owned

by the Edison Company, which in turn is owned by the Consolidated Gas Company. The Empire City Subway Company is owned or controlled by the New York (Bell) Telephone Company. Both subway companies were organized under special acts of the legislature to construct and operate subways under similar contracts with the city. Under these contracts the subway companies were bound to supply the city with all subway space for its electrical conductors free of charge, and after paying expenses of maintenance and operation to turn over to the city all profits above 10 per cent. "*upon the actual cash capital invested.*" The city was also given power after January, 1897, to acquire the subways on payment of their actual cost plus 10 per cent. The subway companies had further agreed to keep full books of account and file annual statements of cost, earnings and expenses with the Comptroller. The examination of these annual accounts and of the books of the subway companies showed that the construction account of the Consolidated Telegraph and Electrical Subway Company, aggregating seven and one-half millions, was padded to the extent of three millions. For example, the account was charged with \$1,875,000, the outstanding issue of capital stock of the company, while the actual cash received by the company for the sale of the stock was only forty thousand dollars. The Empire City Subway Company reported for 1902 operating expenses and maintenance \$350,445. To defraud the city, running expenses were as grossly exaggerated as cost of construction. These facts and conditions were carefully considered by a committee consisting of Mayor Low, Comptroller Grout and President Fornes, and upon their recommendation the Board of Estimate and Apportionment directed that all bids for public lighting for the year 1903 be rejected. Suits had been instituted previously against the subway companies for an accounting and a forfeiture of their charters, and a bill had been introduced into the legislature to empower the city to instal a municipal electric-lighting plant for lighting the streets and public buildings.

While declining to accept the prices submitted and to enter into contracts at the rates demanded, the city administration was at all times ready and willing to pay 80 per cent. of all gas bills

and 60 per cent. of all electric-lighting bills without prejudice to the city or the companies. The offer was taken advantage of but to a slight extent. Public-lighting bills were not paid. Neither were suits brought for services rendered or commodities supplied. The companies were strongly adverse to suing upon a *quantum meruit*. A corporation supplying electric light in the Borough of Richmond gave notice that if their bills were not paid the streets in Richmond would be without light. An application on behalf of the city was immediately made for an injunction and a restraining order was granted *ex parte*. The restraining order still stands. The company has never pressed for a hearing. Mandamus proceedings to compel acceptance of bids and execution of contracts were instituted, but never pushed. The great lighting monopoly had a more effective method to pursue than the mere prosecution of rights in court. Legal action was made to wait upon political action. The more effective course was to put out of power the administration that would not pay and put in power an administration that would. The fusion ticket was defeated. On January 1, 1904, Mayor Low was succeeded by Col. McClellan.

To settle political obligations and at the same time avoid scandal is sometimes difficult. There was hesitation and delay. It took eight months to bring Mr. Oakley, Commissioner of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity, to the point and make him formally agree to abandon the position taken by the previous administration and accept the terms of the monopoly. After matters had been adjusted so far as they could be between the commissioner and the lighting companies, further complications followed. In the shifting of politics Comptroller Grout, of the fusion administration, was again in office, but on the other side. The co-operation of the Comptroller was essential to any settlement, and the Comptroller had expressed his approval definitely and clearly and in black and white in support of the policy adopted by Mayor Low. Though for a time he endeavored to co-operate with Commissioner Oakley in a surrender of the city to the monopoly, even Mr. Grout's exceptional ingenuity could not harmonize such action with his published position of the year before. Mr. Grout again

shifted and abandoned Mr. Oakley. Mayor McClellan repudiated the action of his Commissioner. After movement and counter-movement the monopoly and the city again stood face to face. The issue had been so framed that it could not be avoided. Public opinion would not permit open surrender. Moreover, the situation began to command general attention, and at last Albany took notice.

Pursuant to resolution adopted March 16, 1905, a joint committee of the Senate and Assembly was appointed to investigate and report, among other matters, upon the "reasonableness of the charges maintained by gas and electric-light companies operating in the City of New York for service rendered the city and its inhabitants with reference to the cost of the service and the actual capital employed therein." This committee, headed by Senator Stevens, with Charles E. Hughes as counsel, conducted an investigation and made a report which is generally recognized as the best piece of work done by any legislative committee in recent years. In determining upon "reasonableness of charges" the committee proceeded upon the theory that a public-service corporation was entitled to receive a "fair return upon capital actually invested," but that such a corporation was not entitled to capitalize its "grip upon the public" or its "earning capacity due to monopolization of a public service."

The committee reported that the Consolidated Gas Company had issued eighty millions capital stock, carrying dividends at the rate of 8 per cent. per annum and nearly twenty millions of 6 per cent. debentures upon an actual investment of not more than thirty millions in gas-making plants, from the profits of which for the most part the dividends and interest were paid, there being a further investment in securities of other companies producing an income slight in proportion, but serving "the double purpose of preventing competition on the one hand and of so enlarging the capital stock on the other hand as to disguise in a lower rate of dividends the large amount of profits received from the business of making and selling gas."

The committee found that to the book values of the properties acquired by the Brooklyn Union Gas Company there had been

added between four and five millions for rights in the street, about five millions for good-will, and three million and fifty thousand for the rights of the constituent companies to "make and sell gas," or an aggregate increase in valuation of about thirteen million dollars. Capitalization was undisguisedly based upon "earning capacity due to monopolization of the public service." Each separate branch of the monopoly assumed the right to capitalize its "grip upon the public."

After completing their investigation the Joint Committee reached the conclusion that while it might be necessary to maintain the price of gas at a dollar per thousand cubic feet in order to pay dividends and interest on outstanding stock and bonds of the various gas companies, gas at seventy-five cents per thousand cubic feet would insure a fair return on capital actually invested in gas-making business. As a further result of their investigation the committee recommended that the maximum price for electric current be reduced to ten cents per kilowatt hour. Another recommendation was for the creation of a permanent commission to have constant and extensive supervision of companies supplying gas and electricity.

Bills were introduced in accordance with the recommendations of the committee. The legislature provided for a permanent commission, regulated the price of electric current and lowered the price for gas supplied the city. But the lobby was strong enough to prevent any lowering of the cost of gas to general consumers.

The position taken by the Low administration, that a public-service corporation is only entitled to receive a reasonable profit over and above the cost of production and delivery of the commodity supplied, was termed a *crusade against private corporate rights*. The effort of the Stevens committee to fix by law a price for gas that would "afford to the companies, after allowing the proper costs for manufacture and distribution, taking into consideration all the elements of such cost, a reasonable return upon their capital investment in their gas-making business," was characterized as *confiscation*. If legislation to that end is confiscation and capitalization based upon earning capacity due to monopolization

of a public-service are vested interests to be protected and maintained, then private ownership of the lighting service has imposed a gigantic burden upon the City of New York.

More than a century ago a bill was introduced in the legislature of the state authorizing the City of New York to construct and operate water-works on an extensive scale. The measure failed to pass. It was opposed by prominent citizens who did not believe in municipal ownership on account of the "uncertain profits." A private corporation was chartered under the name of the Manhattan Company for the purpose of supplying water. This private body was granted other powers and is to-day engaged in business as a bank, though it has long ceased to carry on active operations as a water company. The water furnished by the Manhattan Company was so inadequate that in 1828 the city was swept by fire and became so contaminated that in 1832 cholera was epidemic. That year Col. DeWitt Clinton urged going to the Croton River, thirty-three miles to the north, building, at public expense, a reservoir near Pines Bridge and an aqueduct along the Hudson and across the Harlem to Washington Heights. The necessary authority was granted this time by the legislature, and the work undertaken by the city. And since then, the construction, purchase and operation of water-works and the sale and distribution of water have been accepted as a necessary function of municipal government in the City of New York.

The service has not escaped the ills of political management. In 1871 Tweed, as Commissioner of Public Works, included the Croton Water System in his general schemes of plunder. A municipal body moves slowly. It is always late, and the public suffers for its own tardiness. It was apparent in 1875 that another aqueduct was needed, but it was eight years later before the work of construction commenced and seven years after that before the new aqueduct was finished. There were scandals connected with the building of the new aqueduct. It was fully recognized in 1898 that the increased consumption had reached the certain yield of the Croton watershed. The Commission to obtain an additional supply has just been appointed.

It is impossible for a municipality to reach the same efficiency

and practice the same economy a private body can attain. An elective government will be hedged in by restrictions and regulations no matter what field it is expected to enter. The various safeguards imposed to prevent degradation of public service hampers its efficiency. The civil appointments to be made upon competitive examinations frequently render impossible the selection of the most effective men for the work in hand. Competitive bidding for supplies is necessary, but it is often advantageous to buy on the spot. In the selection, discipline and promotion of employees, as well as in the purchase of supplies and equipment, there is the ever-hampering red tape. But in spite of all the drawbacks attending public administration New York is materially better off to-day than had the water supply remained under the control of private corporations.

The investor who puts his money into public works, buying municipal stock and bonds is satisfied with moderate returns—a low rate of interest. The interest on municipal stock and bonds issued to instal a municipal plant represents the investor's profit. The particular service rendered, the public utility dealt in, is properly charged with maintenance and operation, running expenses of the plant, and also with the annual interest charges, the investor's profits which the city guarantees. If any of the revenues collected from the service conducted are used to retire outstanding stock and bonds, thereby reducing the capital account, the annual fixed charges which are to be met grow less as time goes on.

New York's Water System has been valued at one hundred and twenty-five million dollars. This is a reasonable valuation put upon a plant which includes the dams, reservoirs, aqueducts, pumping stations, mains and pipes by which water for all purposes is distributed through the several boroughs.

At the close of 1903 there were outstanding seventy-seven million dollars of water bonds for all parts of the city. The interest charges which the city had to meet on water bonds for the year 1903 were approximately two million six hundred thousand dollars. The cost of maintaining and operating the Water Department for the year was, in round numbers, two million six hundred thousand dollars. The sum—five million two hundred

thousand dollars—thus covers both the annual interest on the outstanding investment and the running or operating expenses—in other words, the entire cost for all the water consumed for public, domestic and commercial use year before last in the City of New York. An income of nearly nine million dollars was collected from water rates, but the difference between income and expenses went back to the city treasury for the reduction of the water debt or for the general reduction of taxes. Very much more than seventy-seven million dollars had been expended on the public water-works up to the close of 1903, but the debt had been reduced from year to year, leaving the interest charges less heavy. The bonds now represent less than two-thirds of the original cost, while with the natural increase in values the physical properties to-day are worth much more than the original cost. The outstanding bonds, upon which annual interest charges must be met, properly may be considered the amount at which the plant is capitalized. Through public ownership of the water supply the community directly benefits by this under-capitalization, while the over-capitalization which comes with private ownership would have thrown a burden on the public which could not have been relieved by any possible economies of the business management.

The water bonds at present outstanding for all parts of the city are not two-thirds of the original issue. The capital investment standing against the public water-works is not two-thirds of the value of the physical properties. The lighting service under private management is at present charged with a capital account which a legislative investigation has shown to be very much greater than the cash investment and many times the value of the tangible properties. Had the water supply been in private hands, financed upon parallel lines, and similar business methods followed to those pursued by the private lighting monopoly, the citizens of New York would be paying between eighteen and twenty millions yearly for water instead of between five and five and a half millions, the annual cost under public ownership.

Neither has New York's municipal water supply proved a political menace. Surely to-day it is neither a pregnant source of official corruption nor a potent adjunct to any political machine.

Under the civil-service laws municipal employees are practically less subject to political control than the employees of the average public-service corporation which is constantly compelled to make and give places to political workers. The easements the public-service corporation enjoys are elastic properties with expansive tendencies, but subject to compression by overbearing authorities. The public-service corporation is always squeezed before it is allowed to expand. The lighting companies have been plundered by politicians; and in turn have corrupted lawmakers and bribed officials. It is a multiple tariff and the consumer pays each way.

The bill to carry out the project now undertaken for securing an additional water supply was introduced at the request of Mayor McClellan, and this bill received the genuine and hearty support of Mayor McClellan's predecessor in office, Mr. Low. The present and the former mayors of the city—opposing candidates at the polls—appeared together before the legislature in honorable advocacy of the same measure for the public good. In humiliating contrast with the dignified support of the additional water-supply bill were the proceedings during the last days of the legislative session when the lighting bills were up for consideration. Then factional foes stood together in dishonorable union for private gain.

The commission on additional water supply is non-partisan and non-political in fact as well as in name. The commission just appointed to supervise the lighting companies is avowedly partisan. The building of the great water-works is to be completely withdrawn from party conflict and party depredation, while the gas and electric companies are still to throw their influence to one side or another in every state and municipal campaign.

Whether the lighting companies, with their inalienable political attributes, are to be permanently continued as governmental plenipotentiaries, or whether they shall be replaced by a municipal service, is a question which New Yorkers are now endeavoring to decide.

THE CONCENTRATION OF FINANCIAL POWER

CHARLES A. CONANT

THE fact that the acquisition of a majority of the \$100,000 capital stock of the Equitable Life Assurance Society carries with it the control of \$400,000,000 in assets, and that the man who recently made the acquisition has a large interest, if not control, in many other institutions with great assets, has naturally attracted attention to the growing concentration of financial power. What is the significance of this and other concentrations of great masses of capital in the control of a few? It is a question of importance, not only from its superficial and sensational side, but on its serious economic and financial side.

From under the shadow of a considerable fortune, acquired by skill in the modern world of finance, but without being widely known to the nation, the figure of one man has suddenly loomed large upon the national horizon. Men in New York who are familiar with Wall Street knew before this event that this man—Thomas F. Ryan—wielded a power and had a constructive genius similar to those which Commodore Vanderbilt or William C. Whitney exercised while living, and which J. Pierpont Morgan is credited with possessing at home and abroad. To the general public the fact that the bearers of these great names had a competitor in the person of a retiring, silent man from Virginia, was comparatively unknown. His appearance, however, in the settlement of the quarrels in the Equitable Life was not a surprise to those who knew his resources. Already the financial journals had commented upon the power of the banking group which he represented, and set it off against the power of the Morgan group and the National City Bank.

When the National Bank of Commerce increased its capital to \$25,000,000 by taking over the Western National Bank in the autumn of 1903, it was even then pointed out that a combination had been formed which represented more than a thousand millions of assets. Within the power of one man or a small group of men—in the reserves and surplus of the Mutual Life and the Equitable

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Life, and in the deposits of the Bank of Commerce, the Morton Trust Company, the Guaranty Trust Company, and a few related institutions—were concentrated funds equal to the ransom which France paid to Germany in 1870 for the liberation of her territory, or which Japan has been seeking to extort from the helplessness of Russia in the East. Other groups there were which had been gradually forming—some, even, like “the Standard Oil group,” which believed that their resources were superior to any which could be brought within a like community of interest in the United States.

The railroad groups also were powerful. Six of them, according to the calculations of Mr. Sereno S. Pratt in his admirable study of “The Work of Wall Street,” represented in 1903 \$6,766,000,000—considerably more than one-third of the securities traded in on the New York Stock Exchange, without counting related industrial enterprises. The Vanderbilt group, representing the New York Central and its connecting lines, stood for \$1,157,000,000; the Pennsylvania group, under the conservative but far-sighted leadership of Mr. A. J. Cassatt, \$1,341,000,000; the Gould group, \$810,000,000; the Morgan-Hill group, controlling the Northern Pacific and other roads which were pooled in the Northern Securities Company, \$1,398,000,000; the Morgan group proper, including the Reading and Southern, \$1,014,000,000; and the Harriman group, which has raised to a dominant position the Union Pacific, \$1,046,000,000.

Whence come these great resources? They come primarily from the savings of the people. The little rivulets of private savings run into the national banks, private banks, and savings banks, and these in turn swell a broader stream, flowing into the banks and trust companies of New York through the deposit of reserves by the country banks with their New York reserve agents. This results, naturally, from the fact that New York is the centre of American financial operations, and particularly from the provisions of the national banking laws, authorizing national banks to count as a part of their reserves money kept in national banks in New York. Through these agencies it comes about that the surplus capital of the country not required for local exchanges finds its

way into the New York banks. The larger and more enterprising among the latter have been quick to avail themselves of these conditions to offer inducements to the country banks to give them their reserve deposits. Hence, banks like the National Bank of Commerce, the Chase National Bank, the National City Bank, the Park National Bank, the First National Bank, and the Hanover National Bank, have hundreds of country banking accounts which go to swell their deposits. The aggregate deposits of these six banks alone, in September, 1904, due to other national banks, was \$201,167,352, and the amount due to trust companies and savings banks was \$194,545,726. These are the most concentrated of these country deposits, but they are only representative of many more scattered among the fifty-odd clearing-house banks of New York and the powerful trust companies which are outside the clearing-house.

The ebb and flow of this fund of surplus capital places great power in the hands of the men at the head of these banks, and still greater power in the hands of the quiet, resourceful few, more or less behind the scenes, who influence the policy of whole groups of powerful banks in New York, and the more widely extended groups of their correspondents throughout the country. Few understand clearly how essential is such a financial hierarchy to the smooth working of the mechanism of production. The man who deposits money in a savings bank or takes out an insurance policy thereby puts his capital at the command of the market. When the savings bank goes into the stock market to buy first-class railway bonds, it aids in the construction and development of the railways. It is the fact that the railway is able to sell such bonds that enables the head of one of the great railway groups to decide that new lines shall be built, terminals improved, road-bed made more secure, a heavier train-load provided for by new cars, and larger locomotives built to draw increased train-loads.

With the money of the savings banks, however, it is not possible to aid new and speculative enterprises. For them only the securities of enterprises of well-established character and success are permissible investments. But more venturesome projects, like a new line of railway in a thinly-settled country, or the initial trials

of the telegraph and telephone, have to be supported by somebody if these improvements are to be brought within the reach of the public for commercial purposes. These ventures are made by rich men—sometimes individually, but more often in groups or syndicates. These men hazard their own fortunes in buying new securities, sometimes long before they have paid a dividend, and before outsiders believe that they ever will pay a dividend. Under the modern mechanism of finance, however, it is not necessary for these rich men and syndicates to advance the entire capital for a new project. They are able to obtain the aid of the banks by advances upon securities of a certain degree of safety at a margin below their market value. The individuals take the risks of losing their margins, and it is in the decision what enterprises they shall favor that the question of their wisdom and foresight lies. If they discount the future too far, and the enterprises fail of success at the time expected, then they must either carry them along by extending their loans or must lose their own investments which they have made upon the margin of risk. The bank, in the meantime, which has advanced money upon their stocks, protects itself by calling for more margin, and by promptly closing out the securities if the additional margin is not forthcoming.

To many people who have not followed the rapid development of the United States, the figures of the immense interests under community of control are almost staggering. They are only typical, however, of the growth of the country. If deposits of national banks in New York have swelled from \$310,000,000 in 1890 to \$970,000,000 in 1905, and deposits of the national banks of the country as a whole from \$1,950,000,000 in 1890 to \$5,000,000,000 in 1905, the facts are only a part of the story of the progress of the country. The number of national banks has grown in this period from 3484 to 5331. Deposits in savings banks have swelled from \$1,550,023,956 to \$2,918,775,329, and the number of depositors from 4,258,893 to 7,305,443—an increase of 70 per cent. The product of manufacturing establishments increased from \$9,372,437,283 in 1890 to \$13,039,279,566 in 1900. The miles of railway operated increased from 166,703 to 207,604; the passengers carried increased from 520,439,082 to

696,908,994, or about 30 per cent. The number of tons of freight carried one mile increased from 79,192,985,125 to 171,290,310,685, or more than 100 per cent. These substantial indications of increasing wealth and commerce are reflected in corresponding increases in the use of the tools for transacting business. Post-office receipts went up at a bound from \$60,882,098 in 1890 to \$143,582,624 in 1904; the number of telegrams sent from 63,258,762 to nearly 100,000,000, and the volume of clearings through the New York Clearing-house from \$37,660,686,572 to \$59,672,796,804.

Such a remarkable increase in the percentage of growth in certain directions does not at first blush seem to be within the limits of the increased economic efficiency of the American people, great as this has been. The explanation is found in the fact that these figures do not indicate an increase in the gross product of American labor. They indicate only a large increase in the increment of saving over and above the absolutely necessary requirements for sustaining life. If, for instance, it be assumed that the power of the American people in 1860 was 10 X, and that this product barely sufficed to meet their requirements for food, clothing, and shelter, then obviously they would have nothing left for investment in railway and industrial securities, representing enterprises intended to minister to new wants and varied tastes. If between 1860 and 1870 their productive power were increased by 10 per cent., the total would be 11 X, but the whole of the increase would be available for fixed investments. Another increase of 10 per cent. in the original productive power between 1870 and 1880 would make the total only 12 X, but it would increase the fund available for new investments by 100 per cent. Corresponding increases up to 1890 and 1900 would increase by 400 per cent. the fund available in 1860 for investment in new enterprises, but this great increase would represent only 40 per cent. of the original productive power of the country in 1860.

In other words, the increment of the new saving, resulting from the increased productive efficiency of machinery, thorough organization of business methods and similar causes, is an almost absolute net gain to the investment fund of the country. In prac-

tice, this would not be exactly the case, because an enhanced degree of comfort would result in a standard of living progressively improving over that of 1860. The savings would not all be devoted to fixed investments nor even to luxuries differing in kind from the food, clothing and shelter required in 1860. They would be employed partly in obtaining better food, finer clothing, and more commodious dwellings. On the other hand, the increase in the fund of saving would result in the enhancement of the efficiency of the individual—at a rate progressively increasing instead of by a simple mathematical increment to his previous savings. The effect of improvements in machinery, constantly reaching down into new grades of manual labor, would be to give to the increase of efficiency an accelerating velocity, whose effects at the present day represent the cumulative influence of the inventive energy, the abstinence and the economic efficiency of two generations of Americans.

To find use for this great fund of saving has been the problem of the financiers of the present generation. It is a widely different problem from that which confronted their ancestors, when there was doubt whether the capital could be found for the railway network of the country. New stock companies have sprung into being to absorb this great fund. At first the fund was greedily absorbed in what would be considered to-day the absolutely necessary equipment of economic life—railways, steamships, telegraph lines, mills and factories. But with the completion of these necessary instruments there seemed for a time to be a congestion of capital. It remained for the men who deal in the problems of money and capital to find new methods of employing savings which would render an adequate return. Obviously, the surplus of capital seeking investment invited the creation of stock companies, some of which were avowedly fraudulent, but others simply afforded the means of testing new ideas, putting in effect those which proved beneficial, and weeding out those which proved to be without economic value.

It is this task of finding investments for accumulating savings which has been performed by the financiers of the present generation. That they should make mistakes was inevitable. That

some of them with hazy notions of morality should steer as close to the border-line of fraud as they could without going to jail was also inevitable. In many cases, however, enterprises which have not proved successful have been none the less well intentioned, honest and based upon as good judgment as is practicable for an untried enterprise. Society progresses by making mistakes. Only by testing new projects in the crucible of experience can their value be determined to mankind. Risk is an element of life; absolute security comes with the stagnation of the sealed sarcophagus. Nations whose economic development is substantially complete—whose railway net-work reaches to every profitable market; whose piers and ports have been completed and safeguarded; whose mills and factories are adequate for national consumption and for exporting those goods in whose production they are most efficient—have little need for taking risks at home. But the means for employing the savings which result from this great equipment can no longer be found at home. Only the small amount of capital required to restore existing plants and to introduce occasionally improvements of detail is absorbed by the local market. The people of such a country, like France, Belgium, or the Netherlands, are perhaps prone to take greater risks in seeking outlets for their capital than those of a less developed country, where risks may be taken at home.

The capital of a comparatively new country, like the United States, is likely to be employed at home. It is at home that successes are achieved, that failures are made, that all the costly mistakes of misdirected enthusiasm or discounting of the future come under the scrutiny of investors and the public. It is there that the discounting of the future takes place among the more venture-some, by bidding up stocks on the exchanges and by forming companies and enterprises which deal with new problems whose success is not assured. Only gradually do these speculations pave the way for certainties. The enterprises which are speculative when they are first formed become, in a country growing in population and resources, the gilt-edged investment securities of later years. Railways were a speculation in 1840. The Bank of France was compelled to come to the aid of the French companies,

because they could not float their shares among individual investors.

Upon the captains of finance in every age of economic progress has been imposed the responsibility of finding outlets for new capital. Theirs have been the risks of failure; theirs almost necessarily the great rewards of success. It has been for them, as the custodians of great funds of savings, coming into their custody in various ways as the directors of commercial banks, trustees of savings banks, managers of stock companies, to determine in what way these funds could be invested wisely. Different rules have governed them in respect to different classes of savings; but these rules have been crystallized by the results of experience. As recently as the middle of the last century the unwisdom of locking up funds of a commercial bank, repayable on demand, in industrial enterprises was not fully understood at the Bank of Belgium. As lately as 1893, it was not understood by the banks of Italy; and in our own country it is evidently still a lesson unlearned among the many who demand every now and then power for national banks to invest in mortgages.

Great events, however, teach rapidly. They bring forth men of their own magnitude. The necessity for financing enterprises like the Steel Corporation, with its \$1,000,000,000 of capital, or the American Tobacco Company, with its \$600,000,000 of stock and bonds, requires big men and big instrumentalities. They require institutions like the National Bank of Commerce, with its \$250,000,000 of assets, and the National City Bank, with its equal resources. In the insurance field also big men are required, though not usually in the same degree as in railroading, banking, and the creation of new industrial enterprises, because a sound insurance company is not rightly a pioneer in new financial fields. But it has taken time and experience to develop this fundamental rule. Through much travail and tribulation of spirit, through the sacrifice of the reputation of old men and the ambitions of young men, the lesson is being learned that life insurance should be conducted upon the conservative lines which are now marked out by law for banks receiving the people's savings.

The men who learn and apply these lessons can never expect

to escape criticism. Success is the criterion by which they are judged, and success unloosens envious and malicious tongues. The leaders of finance in every age of the world have been shining marks. They have been envied by those who did not have all that they had; hated by those they have defeated in the competition of life; despoiled by the state with or without forms of law; deprived alike by their exacting labors and the keen scent of the social blackmailer of the quiet enjoyment of private life; and chastised by public opinion as the arch-enemies of mankind.

The concentration of financial power is not a new thing in the world, but its manifestations are new in each succeeding generation. In ancient times the publicans who farmed the taxes were the subordinates and allies of the master minds who furnished money to the state. Their hold on public opinion may be inferred from the reproach addressed to the Master, that he was willing to break bread "with publicans and sinners." In the Middle Ages, as in modern times, it was self-made men who became the captains of finance. Hans Fugger, coming to Augsburg from a country village in 1367, founded the house whose advances to Charles V. of Spain turned the scale in his favor against Francis I. of France in the competition for the Imperial crown. When the treasures of the East and West were being unlocked by the opening of routes to India and by the discovery of America, it was the descendants of Ambrose Hochstetter who furnished the means to Dutch merchants to control the trade of the world; and when allied Europe was seeking to check the mad ambition of Napoleon, it was the descendants of Meyer Anselon Rothschild who kept their armies clothed and fed.

Even in America the concentration of financial power in one man or a few men is not the novelty which it is sometimes regarded by those who have forgotten the country's history. Robert Morris, in his day, dictated the terms to the Continental Congress upon which he would accept the position of Superintendent of Finance with the purpose of rescuing the finances of the country from disorder. His stipulation that he should have the privilege of continuing his private business and have a free hand in appointments drew the sarcastic observation from one of his ene-

mies that he had engrossed all those powers of Congress which had been deemed incommunicable, "having relieved them from all business of deliberation or executive difficulty with which money is in any respect connected, and they are now very much at leisure to read dispatches, return thanks, pay and receive compliments, etc." There were in those days evidently men who feared the power of the "octopus," even though he twined his hungry arms around an empty treasury and satiated his appetite upon the filling but unsatisfying diet of a depreciated paper currency.

More striking in many ways was the personality of Nicholas Biddle, President of the second Bank of the United States. This bank, with branches extending to every business centre of the Union, handling the public funds and national loans, was inevitably an object of jealousy to the state banks and the private bankers. Biddle, employing a candidate for vice-president as the counsel of the bank, summoning United States senators like Webster and Clay to his councils, proposing to take care of the entire national debt in return for re-charter of the bank, was a financial autocrat as powerful in proportion to the resources of the country as any of our modern time.

Stephen Girard, closing up a slow account with the Barings by taking their stock in the United States Bank, and then buying out the assets of the institution in full and making it the basis of a new and stronger bank, was a prototype of the powerful New York financier of to-day, who brings about a community of interest by combining several minor institutions into a strong central bank. And it is within the memory of men still living that other leaders of finance, who came to the rescue of the Union in its hour of peril by taking over the government loans, agreeing in 1861 to furnish \$150,000,000 in cash within ninety days at the government demand, were types of the sort of men who look beyond the present to the possibilities of the future.

Under the shadow of this steadily accumulating mass of capital has grown up the life-insurance system as it exists to-day. Its possibilities, dawning upon the minds of far-sighted and venturesome men like Henry B. Hyde, have been realized with a rapidity which would have bewildered even their sanguine minds. Money

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has poured into their coffers so fast as to be embarrassing. The investment of \$75,000,000 per year, which represents about the average receipts of each of the three large companies, is no easy task for the ablest financiers whose services can be obtained.

Recent events have been a natural evolution from these conditions. That abuses grew up, almost unconsciously at first, and escaped the attention of shrewd and competent directors, is not surprising in view of the rapidity with which events moved in the accumulation of the assets of the great companies. Insurance was a comparatively new thing a half-century ago; it was a comparatively feeble thing even a generation ago. Like all other important factors in modern economic life—like banking, railway management, shipping—it required to pass through the fire of experiment and error before reaching a permanent basis. But as banking in the United States has survived the blunders and follies of the “wild-cat” era; as railway accounting has been reduced to a science; as ocean lanes have been marked out and the sea charted like the land, so life insurance promises to sink into a groove of demonstrated efficiency, where there will no longer be opportunity for speculation or manipulation.

It is chiefly in the experimental stages of new enterprises that abuses creep in. When they have been reduced to rule and system, so that even a politician without technical training can supervise their operations, then the element of speculation, of manipulation, of gigantic combination to create assets out of the invisible, ceases. No one to-day proposes to merge the savings banks by the issue of gold bonds for assets and stock for good-will. No one would dare to deal with the stock market as Gould and Drew dealt with it in the sixties and seventies. The sale of stock which had not been issued is a transaction upon which no responsible financier, however venturesome, would embark to-day. Bad as the morality of certain men in Wall Street may be, the limits of what a man dare do without sacrificing his financial as well as his moral standing have steadily narrowed in thirty years. The performances of Gould, Drew, Fisk and their fellow-speculators are possible now only to the irresponsible possessors of large fortunes who use their own money and not to men who handle the funds of others.

All that has transpired in regard to the mismanagement of the Equitable Life Assurance Society—the disposition to take a squeeze (according to the expressive Chinese slang) out of transactions with which directors had to do; neglect of the sworn duties of supervision; manipulation of the company for the benefit of subsidiary companies—all these revelations in regard to the past are an earnest that they must cease in regard to the future. If any other company has been permitting similar practices, the exposures in the Equitable are a notice to put its house in order, to avert a similar scandal. Nearly all progress is at the cost of pain—just as reforms in land tenure and the suffrage are at the expense of the vested rights of the governing classes, just as new inventions are at the expense of sending to the junk-heap old machinery and destroying the capital with which it has been built up. It is a process like this through which the business of life insurance is now passing. It is probable that the business will emerge from the test purified as by fire. Insurance business is likely to be put upon the basis of other settled enterprises, which move in grooves so straight and under rules so simple that men of moderate ability and judgment are able to conduct them.

But so long as society is progressing instead of retrograding, new discoveries will be made possible in finance, new wants will create new enterprises, and in the management of these enterprises and the solution of the difficulties in which they become involved, the genius, the courage, the foresight of the captains of finance and the concentration in their hands of immense powers will continue to be required.

THE VICAR OF MORWENSTOW¹

PAUL ELMER MORE

SOME thirty years ago, in 1875, to be exact, that unstable compound, the English Church, was shocked by the news that a Cornish clergyman, dying away from home, had received the sacraments from the hands of a Roman priest. Over the head of his young wife, who had summoned the ministrant to his bedside, there was poured a bitter stream of controversy, as was the wont of the Establishment in those days; and the storm was not allayed by the publication a few months later of a somewhat irresponsible biography of the apostate by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould. It was then seen that this deathbed conversion was only the last act of a life crammed with eccentricities, and from that day to this the Vicar of Morwenstow has enjoyed a kind of pre-eminence in curiosity. At last his son-in-law, Mr. C. E. Byles, has collected his scattered prose and verse in two attractive volumes, and has added to these a full and accurate record of his life. There is no doubt as to the value of the result. Hawker cannot by any stretch of courtesy be called quite a great writer, but I do not hesitate to say that the works and biography together bring us acquainted with one of the most original and most interesting personalities of the past century. He is likely to be remembered longer than some who have achieved more as artists.

And if he cannot be ranked among the great, at least his writings, long before Mr. Baring-Gould made him a subject of romance, had attained an anomalous celebrity. One of his curious methods of reaching the public was to print off a poem in the form of leaflets, which he then inclosed, like advertisements, in business and friendly letters. In this way and through other obscure channels of publication, some of his poems attained a kind of life apart from their author. They even received the dubious praise of

¹FOOTPRINTS OF FORMER MEN IN FAR CORNWALL. By R. S. Hawker. London and New York: John Lane. 1903

CORNISH BALLADS AND OTHER POEMS. By R. S. Hawker. John Lane. 1904.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF R. S. HAWKER (Sometime Vicar of Morwenstow). By his Son-in-law, C. E. Byles. John Lane. 1905.

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being imitated and stolen, and his best work had a humorous trick of gaining currency as anonymous and ancient folklore. His *Sir Beville* was included in Major Egerton Leigh's *Ballads and Legends of Cheshire*, published in 1867, where it was described as "A Royalist song found amongst the family papers in an old oak chest, at Erdeswick Hall, one of the seats of the Minshull family." Nor was this a solitary instance. Most notable of all was the fortune of his *Song of the Western Men*, which, as the ballad that has raised the loudest discussion, may here be quoted entire:

A good sword and a trusty hand!
 A merry heart and true!
 King James's men shall understand
 What Cornish lads can do!

And have they fixed the where and when?
And shall Trelawny die?
Here's twenty thousand Cornish men
Will know the reason why!

Out spake their Captain brave and bold:
 A merry wight was he:—
 "If London Tower were Michael's hold,
 We'd set Trelawny free!

"We'll cross the Tamar, land to land:
 The Severn is no stay:
 With 'one and all,' and hand in hand;
 And who shall bid us nay?

"And when we come to London Wall,
 A pleasant sight to view,
 Come forth! come forth! ye cowards all:
 Here's men as good as you."

Trelawny he's in keep and hold:
Trelawny he may die:
But here's twenty thousand Cornish bold
Will know the reason why!

The stanzas were first published by Hawker anonymously in a provincial newspaper, when he was twenty-three. With the exception of the italicized refrain, which is traditional and was supposed by Hawker to allude to Sir Jonathan Trelawny, one of the Seven Bishops imprisoned by James II., the poem is entirely original. Yet so well had it caught the popular vein that it soon passed for an ancient ballad. Mr. Davies Gilbert, President of

the Royal Society of London, had it printed as such on a broadside; Sir Walter Scott, in a note to his own poems, wrote of it as "a curious and spirited specimen" of the popular ballad; and Macaulay, in his *History of England*, used it as an indication of the feeling in Cornwall during the trial of the bishops. It has since been discovered that Hawker himself was partly mistaken, and that the refrain alludes to an earlier Trelawny than the persecuted Churchman; but that is small matter. No wonder that the author contemplated his ravished honors with some jealousy. "All these years," he exclaimed bitterly, "the Song has been bought and sold, set to music and applauded, while I have lived on among these far-away rocks unprofited, unpraised, and unknown. This is an epitome of my whole life. Others have drawn profit from my brain, while I have been coolly relinquished to obscurity and unrequital and neglect."

And as with his works, so with the man. For years before his death people who had scarcely heard the name of Robert Stephen Hawker knew vaguely of the strange Vicar of Morwenstow, and associated his oddities with the wonders of the west country. Visitors to Devonshire and the Duchy of Cornwall turned aside, as did Tennyson on a memorable occasion, from the haunts of King Arthur and the relics of a thousand superstitions to break bread with the lonely parson whose life was absorbed in the spirit of the land. And what a land! Beauty and terror there divide the scene between them, and the recollections of saint and human fiend jostle each other for possession. There is Kynance Cove, on the Lizard, which Swinburne, in his exaggerated way, thinks the most incomparably lovely spot in the world. Here one may follow up some river valley of many-changing charms till suddenly he comes out on the wide, rocky moors, whose vastness seems more lonely than the sea and whose mysteries have wrought an indescribable fear in the minds of men. Barely a score of miles west of Morwenstow, on the north coast, rises the stern headland of Tintagel (or Dundagel; it is spelt in many ways), which fame has made the birthplace of Arthur, and hallowed and saddened with the loves of Tristram and Iseult and King Mark. It may almost be called the Bethlehem

of Romance. One approaches it to-day through a dark ravine that drops precipitously to the sea; and standing on the shore, one looks up and sees that the great cliff on the left has been rent asunder, how long ago cannot be told, leaving a chasm between the two ruined castles, in one of which Ygerne shut herself up against the guilty passion of Uther Pendragon, but in vain. Through that riven gate the wet wind rises and the sound of waves that are said never to be still; and one thinks of Hawker's noble image:

There stood Dundagel, throned: and the great sea
Lay, a strong vassal at his master's gate,
And, like a drunken giant, sobb'd in sleep!

Or, if the mood of the waters is more boisterous, it may be that Swinburne's swinging lines break on the memory, as he describes the carrying of Iseult, with the fire of the magic potion already in her veins, up the steep path, while King Mark and his knights cluster before the walls and look down on the climbing procession:

So with loud joy and storm of festival
They brought the bride in up the towery way
That rose against the rising front of day,
Stair based on stair, between the rocks unhewn,
To those strange halls wherethrough the tidal tune
Rang loud or lower from soft or strengthening sea,
Tower shouldering tower, to windward and to lee,
With change of floors and stories, flight on flight,
That clomb and curled up to the crowning height
Whence men might see wide east and west in one
And on one sea waned moon and mounting sun.
And severed from the sea-rock's base, where stand
Some worn walls yet, they saw the broken strand,
The beachless cliff that in the sheer sea dips,
The sleepless shore inexorable to ships,
And the straight causeway's bare, gaunt spine between
The sea-spanned walls and naked mainland's green.

Inland from Tintagel, over the Camel River, stands Slaughter Bridge, where, according to tradition, Arthur was defeated in that great battle of the West, and where he got his death wound. Further on lies Dozmaré Pool, in the desolate moorland. Here it was that the King, wandering with Merlin, beheld an arm clothed in white samite rise out of the water, and in the hand the mystical sword Excalibur. And down to this same lake came Sir

Bedivere from his stricken lord and cast the blade from him; and afterward appeared the barge bearing the three Queens, and wafted the dying man to his rest. It is not hard for a lover of poetry who stands on that shore when the homeless breeze is astir, to hear in imagination the cry that issued from the boat, breaking into—

an agony
Of lamentation, like a wind that shrills
All night in a waste land, where no one comes,
Or hath come, since the making of the world.

But to the unlettered moormen the wailing of the storm is more likely to sound like the anguish of a certain John Tregeagle of infamous memory, whose ghost, for an ancient, cruel sin, is compelled forever to bale the water of Dozmaré with a pierced limpet shell. Satan himself lurks among the reeds, and leaps, roaring, upon him if for a moment he slackens in his task. The country is haunted with these weary *revenants* who keep alive the memory of old wrongs, and not a few of Hawker's poems are a retelling in verse of the local legends of this sort.

It is natural that those who traveled thither to gather up the traditions of the land should have included the little hamlet of Morwenstow in their pilgrimage. Tennyson, as I have said, did so, in 1848, when he was working at his *Idyls of the King*, and he has left in his journal this brief record of the visit: "June 2nd—Took a gig to Rev. S. Hawker at Morwenstow, passing Comb [*i.e.*, Coombe] valley; fine view over sea; coldest manner of Vicar until I told my name, then all heartiness. Walk on cliff with him; told of shipwreck." The note is brief and dry, as befits a great man writing of a lesser—lesser, although to some there is a note in Hawker's poem on the Sangraal which Tennyson, with all his art, failed to strike. But the solitary parson made more of the occasion and wrote out in his notebook one of the most graphic accounts of the Laureate that we possess. The passage is too long to repeat in full, but part of it may serve as an example of the talent wasted by Hawker in letters and memoranda never meant for the public:

"I found my guest, at his entrance, a tall, swarthy, Spanish-looking man, with an eye like a sword. He sate down and we conversed. I at once found myself

with no common mind. All poetry in particular he seemed to use like household words, and as chance led to the mention of Homer's picture of night, he gave at once a rendering simple and fine. 'When the Sky is broken up and the myriad Stars roll down, and the Shepherd's heart is glad.' It struck me that the trite translation was about the reverse of this. We then talked about Cornwall and King Arthur, *my* themes, and I quoted Tennyson's fine acct. of the restoration of Excalibur to the Lake. . . . [Follows the dialogue through which the poet's name was revealed to the host, and then] We went on our way to the rocks, and if the converse could all be written down it would make, I think, as nice a little book as Charlotte Elizabeth [Mrs. Hawker] could herself have composed. All verses—all lands—the secret history of many of his poems, which I may not reveal—but that which I can lawfully relate I will. We talked of the sea, which he and I equally adore. But as he told me, strange to say Wordsworth cannot bear its face. My solution was, that nursed among the still waters with a mind as calm and equable as his lakes, the Scenery of the rough Places might be too boisterous for the meek man's Soul. He agreed. We discussed *ποντίων τε κυμάτων*, etc., and I was glad to find that he half agreed with a thought I have long cherished, that these words relate to the Ear and not to the Eye. [De Quincey, apparently unknown to Hawker, had expressed the same fancy, and elsewhere Hawker finds confirmation of it in a line of Catullus.] He did not disdain a version of mine made long ago:—

'Hark, how old Ocean laughs with all his Waves.'

Then, seated on the brow of the Cliff, with Dundagel full in sight, he revealed to me the purpose of his journey to the West. . . .

"I lent him Books and MSS. about King Arthur, which he carried off, and which I perhaps shall never see again. Then evening fell. He arose to go; and I agreed to drive him on his way. He demanded a pipe, and produced a package of very common shag. By great good luck my Sexton had about him his own short black dudheen, which accordingly the minstrel filled and fired. Wild language occupied the way, until we shook farewell at Combe. 'This, said Tennyson, 'has indeed been a day to be remembered, at least it is one which I shall never again forget.' The Bard is a handsome, well-formed man and tall, more like a Spaniard than an Englishman—black, long elflocks all round his face, 'mid which his eyes not only shine but glare. His garments loose and full, such as Bard beseems, and over all a large dark Spanish Cloak. He speaks the languages both old and new, and has manifestly a most bibliothec memory. His voice is very deep, tuneful and slow—an organ, not a breath. His temper, which I tried, seemed very calm—His spirits very low. When I quoted 'My May of Life' [?] and again, 'O never more on me,' etc., he said they too were his haunting words."

All which may seem to concern Tennyson rather than the subject of this sketch, but there is a fascination in these meetings of the poets which always tempts one to linger; some breath of larger life blows from them to us, and for the time makes us of their company. It is easy to imagine ourselves visiting the same reliques of the romantic past, and turning aside with Tennyson to Morwenstow. Hedges line the road on either side, and it has been observed that every bush is bent away from the sea, so steady and

ruthless are the landward winds. There are no groves save a plantation at the chapel, and here every tree crouches imploringly from the same gales. We may, perhaps, find the Vicar in his glebe, which, as he himself has described it, occupies a position of wild and singular beauty; its western boundary is the sea, skirted by tall and tremendous cliffs, and near this brink, with the exquisite taste of ecclesiastical antiquity, is placed the church. Chapel and glebe and parsonage, after the ancient Celtic tradition, lie alone and separated from the hamlet they serve. Despite the "coldest manner" noted by Tennyson, the Vicar, when his suspicions were not aroused, had usually a hearty welcome for strangers, even an awkward eagerness such as grows on one who is much isolated. He stands erect in the field overseeing the care of his garden or flocks, a tall, sturdy figure in striking garb. He is blond with weather-beaten cheeks, and long, light hair, which, in later life, turns white. The head is intellectual, but the eyes, to judge from the portraits, lack concentration, and there is a kind of pudginess about the mouth and chin, the result, it may be, of his habit of taking opium. At a distance he might be thought a venerable old lady. He wears over all, perhaps, a yellow vestment made of a poncho, and beneath it a reddish-brown cassock; "a blushing brown," he once said, "was the hue of Our Lady's hair, as typified in the stem of the maiden-hair fern." Or, possibly, the cassock has been supplanted by a long purple coat. Under this is a fisherman's blue jersey, as befits a fisher of men; and a small red cross marks the spot where the spear entered the Saviour's side. A carpenter's pencil, betokening the life at Nazareth, dangles from his button-hole, and besides this he is adorned with a medal of gold struck in honor of the promulgation, in 1854, of the Immaculate Conception. His trousers are of some odd color, navy blue or red brown; black he utterly eschews, and has stipulated that even in death he shall be covered with a purple pall. Crimson gloves cover his hands (he kept them on even in church), and loose Hessian boots rise from his feet. His hat is the fez of a Greek priest or, by way of alternation, a broad-brimmed felt of the favorite reddish-brown. The "pastoral staff" is cross-handled to complete the symbolism of his habiliments.

The costume is unusual, to say the least, but let a man beware how he shows surprise and, above all, let him avoid comment; for our mild-looking parson has a nimble wit and a cutting tongue. More than one patronizing stranger has departed from this provincial spot utterly nonplussed and chop-fallen. If you are yourself clad in dignified black, and especially if you are a dissenting clergyman, it may be as well to gaze and pass on without salutation. One innocent guest was regaled by Hawker with the story of a preceding visitor who for his unlucky garb had been pinned to the earth by the Vicar's pet stag Robin. "This Evangelical," said Hawker, "had a tail-coat; he was dressed like an undertaker, sir. Once upon a time there was one like him traveling in Egypt, with a similar coat and a tall hat; and the Arabs pursued him, calling him the 'father of saucepans, with a slit-tail.'" The guest to whom the story was told wore a like garment, and found the situation somewhat embarrassing.

The tame stag, with its proper hatred of Evangelicals, was not the only odd pet that made favor in the Vicar's eyes. At one time he was attended everywhere by an intelligent black pig, and it is as like as not we shall meet him in his glebe surrounded by a dog and nine or ten cats. Both dog and cats are so indulged that they accompany him to church and circle about him while he performs the divine office. There is altogether something uncanny in the familiarity between this man and the wild beasts of earth and air. "Beans and peas," he once wrote, "are interdicted by the Jackdaws. We have sown twice, and twice they have devoured them all. And a Scarecrow put up by my old Man, was so made up in my hat and broken Cassock that they took it for me, and came around it, looking up to be fed." All that we learn about him confirms this impression of his almost mythical attachment to the soil, and if we talk with him we shall discover his mind to be a veritable storehouse of Cornish history and legend.

Yet, as a matter of fact, he was not native to the Duchy, but was born, in 1803, at Plymouth, in the neighboring county of Devon. Even as a boy he made himself notorious for his droll pranks and practical jokes. For several years he attended the Cheltenham Grammar School at the expense of an aunt, and while

there published his first book of poems, *Tendrils, by Reuben*. Later in life he could not even recall the name of this early venture. At the age of nineteen he was matriculated at Pembroke College, Oxford, and took his B.A. degree five years later. As a scholar he seems not to have risen much above the average, though he won the Newdigate with a poem on *Pompeii*. The most notorious escapade of his college career was his marriage, which, even without the embellishments added by Mr. Baring-Gould, was singular enough. His father had been a physician, but had abandoned the profession for holy orders and was incumbent of the living at Stratton, not far from Morwenstow. Robert had become acquainted with the family of Colonel Wrey I'ans, who dwelt in the neighborhood of this place, and in 1823 he married one of the daughters, Charlotte. The bride, whom he carried back with him to Oxford, was forty-one, while he was still under twenty; but the union turned out to be unusually happy. He was until her death, in 1863 at the age of eighty, a kind and devoted husband. During her last illness he gave much of his time to reading aloud to her, and it is said that after going through a three-volume novel so great was his abstraction that he knew no more of the book than if he had never seen it. Her loss left him in a state of pathetic loneliness and depression, but he soon found consolation. In something less than two years he took to himself a new wife, a Miss Pauline Kuczynski, the daughter of a Polish exile and an Englishwoman. As if to balance the disparity of the first marriage, the groom was now sixty-one and the bride only twenty; yet again the venture proved in every way fortunate.

But this is to anticipate. On leaving Oxford Hawker was appointed to the curacy of North Tamerton, and after a brief period was removed to Morwenstow, where he resided for forty years, seldom crossing the boundary of his parish during all that time. He became, as it were, the *genius loci*, in whom the spirit of the valley and sea found expression. The very towns of Cornwall near by seemed to him remote and set in some unvisited province of the world. "No one can even imagine the horror it is to me," he once wrote to a friend, after a residence of twenty-eight years, "to look forward to the journey from hence to Stratton to

attend the Confirmation. The streets, the strange faces, the unusual crowd—the Salutations in the market-place are to me, a shy, nervous man, an actual trial and a burthen to bear. When I had to attend at the Archdeacon's Visitation at Launceston, twenty-five miles off, every year, I could not sleep for long nights before, and the faint and sickening sensation I felt at the aspect of the Town was humiliating and depressing indeed." Morwenstow had not hitherto enjoyed a resident vicar for a century, and Hawker found the church dilapidated and the people, rude and ignorant peasants and seamen for the most part, unattached. He set himself diligently to right these conditions and by persistence and a kind of rough wisdom succeeded. To restore the church, whose legendary history appealed to his fancy, he drew heavily on the small fortune of his wife, laying up for himself endless debts and difficulties in the future. He also built a vicarage, in which he did not fail to embody some of his own original notions. "The kitchen chimney," he explained, "perplexed me very much, till I be-thought me of my mother's tomb; and there it is, in its exact shape and dimensions." His yearly revenue was £365, as he announced in an inscription placed over the front door:

A House, a Glebe, a Pound a Day;
A Pleasant Place to Watch and Pray.
Be true to Church—Be kind to Poor,
O Minister! forevermore.

In the solitude of this haunted land his mind brooded on its own fancies until the actual and the visionary lost their sharp distinction for him. Probably the habit of opium-taking strengthened the reality of this dream-world. As a consequence, in dealing with him it is always difficult to know what should be attributed to religion and what belongs to superstition and pure charlatanry. When he wrote of Joseph of Arimathea's Syrian home those two perfect lines,—

Young men, that no one knew, went in and out,
With a far look in their eternal eyes,

he was merely repeating what he held to be his own experience. So real would he have these angelic visitants to be that he impressed on children's minds the fact that they were wrongly depicted

with wings. It is easy, in dealing with such a character, to write down the word dupe or hypocrite, but who shall presume to draw the boundary between these morbid states and the profounder conviction of celestial communication? And has not the least religious of poets said it—

Et sunt commercia caeli?

In other matters his supernaturalism assumed a grosser form. He had charms for the evil eye and for inflictions of the body. He recognized a witch by the five black spots placed diagonally under her tongue, like those made in the feet of the swine by the entrance of the devils at Gadara. Elemental demons and emissaries of Satan beset his path, and it is not unusual to come upon such a note as this in his letters: "As I entered the Gulph between the Valleys to-day, a Storm leaped from the Sea and rushed at me roaring—I recognized a Demon and put Carrow into a gallop and so escaped. But it was perilous work. There once I saw a Brownie; and Thence at Night the Northern Glances Glean." He had a philosophy for these apparitions and conceived a medium midway between matter and spirit for which he coined the outlandish name of "Numyne." This was nothing less than the "sacramental element of the Shechinah," the "Mater et Filia Dei" of the Rabbins, the "atmosphere of the angels," a blend of God and man, and a dozen other quaint conceptions jumbled together from the luminiferous ether of science and the *aura animæ* of the mediæval schoolmen. Yet if he could be solemn over his beliefs one moment he could treat them as a jest the next. He is known to have pointed out with apparent seriousness the haunt of mermaids to a stranger, but Mr. Baring-Gould also tells how, when a young man, he decked himself in sea-weeds and an oilskin wrap and, so disguised, sat on a rock in the moonlight and sang, to the great wonderment of the neighborhood. Undoubtedly there was not a little of this deliberate attempt at mystification in the minor eccentricities of the reverend gentleman, and superstition entwined herself cunningly with charlatanry, as is the custom with those twin sisters.

It is not to be supposed that any great and accomplished work should proceed from such a life and character. He was, indeed,

not without natural ambition, and in his youth had made a brave effort to imitate Byron and other reigning favorites of the day. But as time slipped by and as he became more and more involved in the cares and solitudes of his parish, he realized with some bitterness that the race of fame was not for him. His letters contain pathetic allusions to the innumerable memorandum books into which he had poured his scattered thoughts and which he hoped might one day be "read and printed as 'the Fragments of a broken mind.' " The phrase evidently flattered his vanity and came up for use more than once; it had occurred in a lyric written as early as 1840:

All, all is gone—no longer roll
Vision and dream around my soul:
But, in their stead, float down the wind
These fragments of a broken mind.

And in the noblest of his poems he put into the mouth of King Arthur this expression of his own futile doom, mingled with laments for an erring land. Had he always, or often, written as magnificently as this, there would be no need to make allowance for his shortcomings:

Ha! Sirs—ye seek a noble crest to-day,
To win and wear the starry Sangraal,
The link that binds to God a lonely land.
Would that my arm went with you, like my heart!
But the true shepherd must not shun the fold:
For in this flock are crouching grievous wolves,
And chief among them all, my own false kin.
Therefore I tarry by the cruel sea,
To hear at eve the treacherous mermaid's song,
And watch the wallowing monsters of the wave,—
'Mid all things fierce, and wild, and strange, alone!

Ah! native Cornwall! throned upon the hills,
Thy moorland pathways worn by Angel feet,
Thy streams that march in music to the sea
'Mid Ocean's merry noise, his billowy laugh!
Ah, me! a gloom falls heavy on my soul—
The birds that sung to me in youth are dead;
I think, in dreamy vigils of the night,
It may be God is angry with my land,
Too much athirst for fame, too fond of blood;
And all for earth, for shadows, and the dream
To glean an echo from the winds of song!

It is the cry of a man who feels his powers caught in some spell of impotence, who knows there are great things to do and great laborers starting for the field, while he lingers behind in a lesser duty and a lonelier dream. But his worst fear was baseless:

I would not be forgotten in this land.

No; as that strange west country is trodden into conformity with the routine of civilization, he is likely to become better and more distinctly known as the personification of a semi-mythical past. No other writer can supplant him. For we must recognize that there are two kinds of poetical genius, the essential and the contingent, and that their claims on our memory are as diverse as their faculties. Nor is this division quite coterminous with that into major and minor poets. Keats and Wordsworth both belong to the major group, yet one is essentially, whereas the other is in large measure contingently, poetic. We judge the work of Keats in itself, and its value rises or sinks purely in proportion to its own intrinsic interest; it would be almost the same to us if we had never heard the writer's name. On the contrary, no small portion of Wordsworth's verse, and that not always the least cherished, derives its weight and significance from what we know of the poet's own character and of his philosophy. It is the voice of the High Priest of Nature to which we are listening, and behind his words is the authority of a grave teacher. Take away the memory of that systematic life with its associations, forget the hallowed beauty of the Lake Country, and how much of Wordsworth's celebrity would be annulled! Now it is just these contingent qualities that render even the minor verse of our Cornish Vicar precious. You may read his book of poems alone with comparative coldness; but first go through Mr. Byle's admirable but rather bulky memoirs, read Hawker's own prose sketches, steep your mind in the history and topography of Cornwall, and then turn once more to the poetry. The difference of its effect will be startling.

A specific example will make clear what is meant by the contingent interest of Hawker's work. One of his shorter ballads is founded on the story told him of the death of a noted wrecker, Mawgan of Melhuach:

'Twas a fierce night when old Mawgan died,
Men shuddered to hear the rolling tide:
The wreckers fled fast from the awful shore,
They had heard strange voices amid the roar.

"Out with the boat there," some one cried,—
"Will he never come? We shall lose the tide:
His berth is trim and his cabin stored,
He's a weary long time coming on board."

The old man struggled upon the bed:
He knew the words that the voices said;
Wildly he shriek'd as his eyes grew dim,
"He was dead! he was dead! when I buried him."

Hark yet again to the devilish roar!
"He was nimbler once with a ship on shore;
Come! come! old man, 't is a vain delay,
We must make the offing by break of day."

Hard was the struggle, but at the last,
With a stormy pang old Mawgan pass'd,
And away, away, beneath their sight,
Gleam'd the red sail at pitch of night.

The workmanship of the piece is sufficiently good, and if read without preparation it might pass as a fair specimen of the school which produced Southey's *Old Woman of Berkeley* and a host of similar ballads of the time. Like Southey's work, it cannot be classed with such a poem as Keats's *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*, which depends for its effect on emotions that lurk in every human breast and hence requires no realism behind its supernatural imagery; but, when properly considered, it also differs as radically from the spurious school which it seems to resemble. Southey's lines are clever and catch the fancy, and nothing more; they have no background of real terror. On the contrary, the full effect of Hawker's ballad is to be got by reading it repeatedly and lingeringly, and by allowing the memories of the poet's own experiences to blend with the impression of the verse. Gradually, as at the sound of a spell, the memories of the sea about those pitiless coasts arise in the mind. We recall the legends of great storms and terrible wrecks from the days of the Spanish Armada to the present, and the wild life of the Western men, which had not wholly ceased in Hawker's own time. So constant is the peril of

the ocean here that even to-day a child in these towns is rebuked if he brings to the table a loaf of bread resting on its cut side—it looks too much like a vessel floating bottom upwards. But if the waves take away, they also restore, and the history of that coast is a long record of heroic fighting with England's enemies and of no less ruthless smuggling and wrecking. In one of the chapters of his *Footprints in Far Cornwall*, Hawker relates with extraordinary vividness his own labors in taming the habits of these wreckers, who did not scruple to allure vessels on the rocks with false lights. It was reckoned an omen of ill-luck to restore life to the bodies washed ashore, as he once learned emphatically from his own servant; and horrible tales were abroad of occasions when the murderous waves were not swift enough in their work for these ghouls of the sea. To be awakened at midnight when the wind was screeching like a lost soul, to clamber down the precipitous cliff some three hundred feet with the spray lashing about him, to labor in the surf for the rescue of a forlorn ship, was an adventure that tried the nerves and troubled the imagination. Too often only the lifeless bodies came to his hands, but these at least he saved from desecration and buried with decent ceremony.

There had been more than one Mawgan in his parish. Just before Hawker's time a stranger, whose origin and end were wrapt in obscurity, gained the sobriquet of "Cruel Coppinger" for his lawless practices. His life and mysterious disappearance furnished Hawker with one of his best prose sketches, and the same character figures in Mr. Baring-Gould's *In the Roar of the Sea*. Still more like the fate of Mawgan was the story sent to the *Times* by a resident of the district during Hawker's incumbency. The storms had been unusually severe, and one night a cloud filled with a fiery glow was seen by many of the sailors gliding up the valley to the house of a notorious merchant and wrecker, and passing inland along the glen until it reached a church where his family lay buried. Hawker himself half, or wholly, believed the tale, and it evidently impressed him deeply. His own knowledge of the event he writes in a letter:

"On Sunday evening this day week ——— went out on the cliffs, and was seen watching the sea, it is supposed for Wreck. He returned quite well and went to

bed. At 5 in the morning his Servants heard him walk about his room. Then his footsteps ceased. He had returned to bed. At Six O'Clock a vast roll of the Tide came up the Harbour, and one of his Vessels broke loose. The Servants went up to tell him—knocked—no answer—again—silence—frightened, they went in, and there he lay quite dead, His head upon his hand. Ever since that day it is certain the storms have been continued—again and again with violence, and while I now write my Table trembles with the wind. All this is awful. The Enemy of Man, you know, is called the Prince of the Powers of the Air."

But it was something more than superstition that supported the Vicar in his long years of tribulation. Above all these wandering fires glowed the steady light of faith, and he is one of that succession of clergymen, beginning with the saintly George Herbert, who from the heart of their isolated parishes have enriched English poetry with a body of pure and high meditation. I do not know how it may be with others, but with me the knowledge of Hawker's faithful service, and of the ancient traditions of Celtic and Saxon saints amidst which he lived, lends a peculiar charm to stanzas that might otherwise appear almost commonplace. I discover this charm in such lines as these:

Come, then, sad river, let our footsteps blend
Onward, by silent bank, and nameless stone:
Our years began alike, so let them end,—
We live with many men, we die alone;—

and I find something quite different from the familiar cant of piety in his poem to *Morwennæ Statio*, that is, as he interprets with quaint pedantry, "The Stow, or the Place, of St. Morwenna; hence the *Breviate, hodie, Morwenstow*":

My Saxon shrine! the only ground
Wherein this weary heart hath rest:
What years the birds of God have found
Along thy walls their sacred nest!
The storm—the blast—the tempest shock,
Have beat upon these walls in vain;
She stands—a daughter of the rock—
The changeless God's eternal fane.

Huge, mighty, massive, hard, and strong,
Were the choice stones they lifted then:
The vision of their hope was long,
They knew their God, those faithful men.
They pitch'd no tent for change or death,
No home to last man's shadowy day;
There! there! the everlasting breath,
Would breathe whole centuries away.

See, now, along that pillar'd aisle,
 The graven arches, firm and fair:
 They bend their shoulders to the toil,
 And lift the hollow roof in air.
 A sign! beneath the ship we stand,
 The inverted vessel's arching side;
 Forsaken—when the fisher-band
 Went forth to sweep a mightier tide.

Pace we the ground! our footsteps tread
 A cross—the builder's holiest form:
 That awful couch, where once was shed
 The blood, with man's forgiveness warm.
 And here, just where His mighty breast
 Throbb'd the last agony away,
 They bade the voice of worship rest,
 And white-robed Levites pause and pray.

How all things glow with life and thought,
 Where'er our faithful fathers trod!
 The very ground with speech is fraught,
 The air is eloquent of God.
 In vain would doubt or mockery hide
 The buried echoes of the past;
 A voice of strength, a voice of pride,
 Here dwells amid the storm and blast.

To understand Hawker's solemn reverence for the temple and saint which he served, one must go back to the days of the early Celtic domination. It was the custom then for a holy man to choose some bit of land, or *llan*, and there fast and pray for forty days as a sign of possession. After that the sacred precinct was his forever; he did not pass away, but abode as the guardian and owner of the edifice which might be erected to his name. To a man of Hawker's imaginative temperament the patron of his church was a living presence, listening to the words and following with spirit eyes the acts of his worship. But his attempt to bind the present and the past together in a kind of reverent imitation did not end with his ministrations at the altar. "Cornwall," as it has been said, "was the Thebaid of the Welsh," and the relics of the rude stone cells still exist where these anchorites of the moors dwelt in solitary contemplation. As a young man, before he had come to Morwenstow, Hawker had, after the manner of these exiled hermits, built himself a perch on the cliff near Whit-

stone, where he might be alone with his thoughts and, as he would say solemnly, "with God." And later, again, at Morwenstow, out of the timbers cast up by wrecks, he constructed a hut, from which, looking out over the sea far below, like another Odysseus on his wave-beaten island, he beheld visions of a longed-for home beyond the sunset. One may see a picture of this cell in Mr. Byles's *Life*—a little chamber half-buried in the side of the steep heathery hill, with a mound of earth over the roof. There is no window or other outlet besides the door which opens seaward—a mere covering from the inclement weather. Here, during the period of his widowerhood, Hawker composed that fragment of the work which he had long contemplated, *The Quest of the Sangraal*; and here a friend tells of visiting him one wild evening when the sun had gone down like a ball of red-hot iron into the deep, and of hearing him recite from memory the completed canto.

It is a poem whose power grows upon you with acquaintance, and upon it Hawker's fame as an artist must ultimately hang. So much of his own life is in it that I have already quoted a number of the lines to illustrate the various phases of his character—the vision of the young men with a far look in their eternal eyes, the image of the sea sobbing like a drunken giant below Tintagel on its throne, the lament of Arthur abiding at home while his knights went out on the sacred Quest. At the very opening of the poem there is a reminiscence of the old Celtic hermits, not without allusion to the spot where, in imitation of their withdrawal from the world, the poet himself retired for prayer and composition:

They had their lodges in the wilderness,
Or built them cells beside the shadowy sea,
And there they dwelt with angels, like a dream:
So they unroll'd the volume of the Book,
And fill'd the fields of the Evangelist
With antique thoughts, that breath'd of Paradise.

And the subject of the lay—the sending out of the four chief knights to the East and West and North and South in search of the vanished cup—is nothing less than the regeneration which was to come to England when men should once more reverence as in old days the mystic chalice of the Communion. Hawker's work

was, in this respect, a part of that awakening of the religious imagination which followed the Tractarian Movement. It belongs to the same sacramentarian impulse which produced *John Ingle-sant*, although, like Shorthouse, he never identified himself with the armies of High or Low Church, while, unlike Shorthouse, he was, through his reverence of the priestly function, brought at the end into the Roman fold.

But the more inevitable comparison, or contrast, is with that *Idyl of the King* which deals with the same Quest. We have seen Tennyson and Hawker looking out together toward Tintagel and talking over the deeds of the King who issued from that fortress. It is worth while to read in succession the results of their conversation, if only to learn how the poetic pleasure may vary in kind as well as in degree; the two poems are a notable illustration of that distinction between the essential and the contingent. So far, indeed, is Tennyson's rhapsody of *The Holy Grail* removed from the accessories of time and place and individual experience that to some it may seem to rise perilously near to the inane. Instead of Hawker's account of the knights setting forth from the actual Tintagel, "where gate and bulwark darken o'er the sea," Tennyson carries us to the fantastic hall that Merlin raised at Camelot, with its "four great zones of sculpture, set betwixt, With many a mystic symbol." The landscape, from the first description of the "April morn That puff'd the swaying branches into smoke," is in a region that no eye has beheld and no human foot has ever trod. And the sea—it is not on the Severn shores that Lancelot encountered that darkening storm:

So loud a blast along the shore and sea,
Ye could not hear the waters for the blast,
Tho' heapt in mounds and ridges all the sea
Drove like a cataract, and all the sand
Swept like a river, and the clouded heavens
Were shaken with the motion and the sound.

And as the time and place, so is the action. The popular tradition, or legend, has evaporated into a vision of the poet's own brain which no man ever believed or could believe to be historic. There is not the slightest illusion in the reader's mind that these are real knights who are seeking a vessel supposed somewhere still

to be hidden in the earth; it is characteristic of Tennyson's Arthur that he laments the Quest as a kind of ruinous madness sent among his followers, whereas in Hawker's poem he only regrets that he himself is restrained from the holy adventure. Hawker wrote as a churchman, having his eye on an actual state of England in the past and seeing in prophecy a corresponding regeneration. Place by the side of those farewell lines which I have already quoted from Hawker,—

Ha! Sirs—ye seek a noble crest to-day,

these words in which the Arthur of the *Idyls* explains his home-staying and his blindness to the vision. He, too, is a King who cannot leave his allotted field until his work be done,—

but, being done,
Let visions of the night or of the day
Come, as they will; and many a time they come,
Until this earth he walks on seems not earth,
This light that strikes his eyeball is not light,
This air that smites his forehead is not air
But vision—yea, his very hand and foot—
In moments when he feels he cannot die,
And knows himself no vision to himself,
Nor the high God a vision, nor that One
Who rose again: ye have seen what ye have seen.

Is it not plain that we are here rapt from this earth into the land of the spirit? It is even safe, I think, to say that this song of *The Holy Grail* is the most purely spiritual poem in the language. I would not tarnish its beauty with a clumsy paraphrase of its sense, for, indeed, the value of this mystical music lies entirely in the spontaneous echo stirred in the reader's breast. But clearly it is, in a general way, an expression of that hungering after the ideal which exists in every human being, obscured for the most part by the necessities of the day, and to those even who hearken to its summons speaking so vaguely that all but one or two go out to "follow wandering fires, lost in the quagmire."

There is nothing of this universal meaning in Hawker's lines, and they are little concerned with that inner truth which is essential to the human spirit, although by most of us so dimly perceived. But they have their great compensation. There is no

need to explain once more how vividly the scenes of that poem reproduce in imagination the particular land in which the poet dwelt, and how perfectly its theme blends together the legendary exploits of King Arthur's knights with his own religious experience and with the traditions of the church which he served. It is, indeed, not unlikely that many readers will feel more at home in these passing but very tangible moods of religion than in the ethereal vision of Tennyson, whose truth corresponds to no realities of outer life. And if Hawker's language lacks the pure and essential beauty of Tennyson's, there is nevertheless a certain fine sonorousness in his measure, and here and there a verse rings almost with the gravity of *Lycidas*, where Milton in like measure bewails the degeneracy of the land. These may be contingent qualities and may demand for their full enjoyment a special knowledge of the poet's life, but they are genuine and have their precious reward. I have quite failed in this essay if my aim has not been evident to spare the impatient reader as much as possible of this preliminary labor and to shorten the way to his journey's end.

THE LATER MIRACLE PLAYS OF ENGLAND

CHARLES MILLS GAYLEY

I.—THE WAKEFIELD MASTER OF COMEDY

IN order to show the more plainly the indebtedness of our first great comic dramatist, the anonymous Player-Clerk of Wakefield, to the leading dramatists of the York cycle, I must for a few paragraphs enlarge upon the treatment already accorded to this subject in my edition of "Representative English Comedies." We know that Wakefield actors sometimes played in the *Corpus Christi* plays of York, and it was only natural that the smaller town should borrow from the dramatic riches of its metropolitan neighbor. We are therefore not surprised to find in the Wakefield cycle a number of plays which are in large part literally taken from the York cycle, the *Pharao* from York XI, the *Pagina Doctorum* from Y. XX, the *Extractio Animarum* from Y. XXXVII, the *Resurrectio Domini* from Y. XXXVIII, the *Judicium* from Y. XLVIII. None of these borrowings or of their originals is in either of the perfected stanzaic forms of the later York schools—humorous and realistic—of which mention was made in the preceding article on this subject; but in altogether simpler and cruder measures. In the Wakefield *Ascension*, and the Wakefield *Conspiracy*, however, which in other respects betray their derivation from earlier metres and discarded portions of the York cycle, there are embedded occasional variations of the later York strophes evidently in transition toward their final adaptation by the master-dramatist of Wakefield. In stanza 57 of the Wakefield *Ascension*, for instance, we find a variant of one of the best stanzas of York—that of the *Mortificacio*—a b a b b c b c³ d¹ e² e² e² d—side by side with a tentative form of the final Wakefield stanza, and very much like it; and in the Wakefield *Conspiracy*, 97—100, we find similar variants of the other favorite stanza of the York realistic school, the a b a b a b a b c d c c c d of the York *Conspiracy*, with its octave in septenars, and sestet in trimeter. In the Wakefield *Fflagellacio*, moreover, the four opening stanzas of a transitional York strophe—

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a b a b a b a b⁴ c¹ d d d² c², are immediately followed by twenty-four in the Wakefield master's improvement upon that form. Elsewhere there occurs a similar juxtaposition. It is therefore, beyond doubt, that the composer of the perfected York-Wakefield stanza, such as appears in a remarkable group of the Wakefield plays, must have been influenced consciously or indirectly by the later York schools of dramatic composition and by the humorous school of the middle York period, from which the later schools derived much of their artistic technique. About one-quarter of the Wakefield cycle, a quarter which for other reasons, linguistic, stylistic, dramatic and social, one is tempted to ascribe to a single author, is couched in a stanzaic form of which the following is an example:

I thank it, God,—
 Hark ye what I mene—
 Ffor even or for od
 I have mekyll tene;
 As hevy as a sod
 I grete with myn een,
 When I nap on my cod
 For care that has bene,
 And sorow.
 All my shepe ar gone,
 I am not left oone,
 The rott has them slone;
 Now beg I and borow.

This thirteen-line stanza, rhyming a b a b a b a b² c¹ d d d² c², is the evident outgrowth, by combination and modification, of the York *Mortificacio* and *Conspiracy* stanzas, of which I have just spoken. Sometimes, indeed, a three-accented line occurs among the first eight, showing the more plainly the derivation from the *Mortificacio*. This resemblance is, however, ordinarily obscured by the fact that the Wakefield stanza has been preserved in manuscript and print in a nine-line mould—the first four lines of which represent the first eight of the thirteen-line stanza, thus:

I thank it, God | hark ye what I mene,
 Ffor even or for od | I have mekyll tene;
 As hevy as a sod | I grete with myn eene,
 When I nap on my cod | for care that has bene.

This nine-line stanza, with its involved rhymes in the first quatrain, is in all probability the Wakefield development of the

thirteen- and fourteen-line stanzas of the York *Mortificacio* and *Conspiracy*. Whether the rapid beat and frequently recurring rhyme are a conscious elaboration of the York or a happy find or accident, the stanzaic result is an accurate index of the superiority in spirit and style achieved over their congeners of York by these comedies of Wakefield.

The Wakefield cycle had completed what Mr. Pollard fitly calls an older didactic period, of which the product is couched in couplets (a a') or in various forms of the six-line stanza a a' b' c' c' b', beloved by the early metrical romance and used predominately in the Chester plays; it had indeed made most of its borrowings from York (in the a b a b a b' c' d c d' and similar simple metres) when the humorist or humorists of the nine-line stanza took it in hand. In the *Creation*, the *Isaac*, the *Jacob*, the *Processus Prophetarum*, the *Cæsar Augustus*, the *Annunciation*, the *Salutation*, the *Purification*, and the *St. Thomas* of the older cycle no nine-line stanza occurs. But at the close of the *Mactacio Abel*, which in other metrical respects is of the didactic cycle, we find two of the nine-line stanzas in their thirteen-line formation and entirely in the realistic Wakefield vein. In one of the five plays derived from the York cycle, namely, the *Judicium*, stanzas 16 to 48, and 68 to 76 in the nine-line Wakefield stanza have been inserted. Of the two plays which show a general resemblance to a corresponding York, one, the *Herod*, is in this stanza, and to the other, the *Conspiracy*, a dozen of the stanzas are prefixed. The *Fflagellacio* (XXII), the second half of which I should have said in my earlier article is an imitation, sometimes loose, sometimes literal, of York XXXIV (*Christ Led Up to Calvary*), opens with twenty-three of these stanzas—nearly the whole of the original part. One of them, No. 25, is, by the way, based upon stanza 2 of that part of York XXXIV which is *not* taken over by the Wakefield play. In the Wakefield *Ascension*, which adapts, but in no slavish manner, a few passages from the York XLIII, we find two of this playwright's nine-line stanzas;¹ and in the Wakefield *Crucifixion*, which has some slight reminiscence of York XXXV, and XXXVI, we find one. In that part of the Wakefield less

¹ Stanza 57 might just as well be arranged like stanza 58.

directly, or not at all, connected with the York cycle, four whole plays, the *Processus Noe*, the two *Shepherds' Plays*, and the *Buf-feting*, and occasional portions of other plays² are written in this stanza.

This contribution in the nine-line stanza amounts, as has been said, to approximately one-fourth of the cycle; and allowing for modifications due to oral and scribal transmission, it is of one language and phraseology. Not merely the identity of stanza and diction, however, leads one to suspect an identity of authorship; it is the prevalence in all these passages, but not in others, of spiritual characteristics in approximately the same combination—realistic and humorous qualities singularly suitable to the development of a vigorous national comedy. "If any one," says Mr. Pollard, "will read these plays together, I think he cannot fail to feel that they are all the work of the same writer, and that this writer deserves to be ranked—if only we knew his name!—at least as high as Langland, and as an exponent of a rather boisterous kind of humor, had no equal in his own day." And, speaking of the *Mactacio Abel*, where we lack the evidence of identity of metre, Mr. Pollard adds, "The extraordinary youthfulness of the play and the character of its humor make it difficult to dissociate it from the work of the author of the *Shepherds' Plays*, and I cannot doubt that this, also, at least in part, must be added to his credit."³ I had come to a similar conclusion before reading Mr. Pollard's opinion, and I may say that I suspect the Wakefield master in the *Processus Talentorum* as well; for though the stanzaic form of that pageant is not his favorite, the humor, the dramatic technique and the phraseology are closely reminiscent of him. In this revising and editing process, the Wakefield master was brought into touch with the York schools of comic and realistic composition. What he derived from those schools and what he added, may be gathered from a comparative view of the related portions of these cycles. Let us consider a typical instance or two of each kind in both York and Wakefield.

² XXIV, 1-5, 56-59; XXVII, 4. Passages in a closely similar stanza are XXII, 1-4; XXIII, 2; XXVII, 30.

³ *The Towneley Plays*, Introd., p. XXII.

The plays dealing with the Flood are an admirable example of the York school of humor and incident. Of these there are two. One, *The Building of the Ark*, is serious and of early composition. We may dismiss it from the present consideration. The other, *Noe and His Wife*, is of a later period, and comic; but it is of the earliest stage of comic production in the cycle. The action lacks the variety of its Wakefield correspondent, and, as we have already seen, of the Chester; but the characterization is discriminating and distinct. In the first scene Noe contemplates his preparation for the flood, and sends his sons for their mother. He appears to be pious and long-suffering, but his wife is a shrew from the beginning. In the second scene, when bidden to the ark, she "wol come no narre." But her curiosity gets the better of her; she cannot sit still till she sees what Noe means. In the third scene, before the ark, "business" waxes furious; and the strife of tongues keeps pace, brisk, witty, and natural. Here we discover the first artistically constructed woman in English comedy. She won't enter the ark—for a variety of reasons, in ordering which the dramatist has displayed no slight knowledge of the probabilities. "Where art thou, Noe?" (He bids her embark quickly.) "Why should I leave the hard land? . . . I'm not fain for any voyage of discovery, especially in that old ark. . . . Come, children, let's trusse to towne." "Drown? sayst thou? Now, Noe, thou drivelest fast; art well-nigh mad; I am aghast. Farewell, I will go home again." (He seeks to detain her.) "Hello! Thou wert as good let me go my gait." (Noe calls upon the sons to help: they persuade her that the world will surely sink.) "What's that? Alas, that I this news should hear! Well, then, I must hie me home and pack." (Noe's temper breaks loose.) "What, not 'trusse my tolis.' Noe, thou mightst have let me wit what thou didst these hundred years while thou letst me sit at home." (He apologizes, saying it was "Goddis wille.") "God's will? Psha! Take that." (He "gets a clowte.") "God's will again! 'Thou shulde have witte my will, If I wolde assent there till,' Now first I fynde and feele, Why thou hast to the forest sought.' Well, if I must escape from scathe, I would 'my commodrys and my cosynes bathe' went with

us in company." That hope proving vain, this admirable matron subsides and passes into the ark. Her daughters comfort her, and Noe rules with satisfaction. In the fourth scene the conversation is biblical and more general, the birds are sent forth, and at last Noe beholds the "hills of Hermonye." Once more Uxor breaks out in lament for her kin and company. "Dame, all are drowned," retorts Noe; "let be thy din."

Here we have, then, a comic episode with an attempt at "business," the rudiments of characterization, and a commendable naturalness and ease of conversation.

Now, the Wakefield dramatist, whether we regard the stanzaic form of his *Noe* as derived from or suggested by the York play or not, certainly appears to have been acquainted with the York treatment of the subject. The plays agree in details which, at the same time, distinguish them from those of other cycles. The Wakefield *Processus Noe* belongs to the third or artistic stage of composition in its own cycle. It is in five scenes, and in each of them it improves upon its congener of York. The fable no longer constitutes a comic episode nor a mere string of such episodes; nor is it exactly a farce. It may be described as a comic history. Coarse as the quarreling may be, and uproarious the fun, the play gives evidence of shrewd observation, it abounds with realistic touches, confidential asides, contemporary nicknames, assorted terms of abuse, and a rich, varied rustic philosophy. The humor is of a piece with that of the earlier York school; the realism, of a piece with the later; the play as a whole is the work of a genius who knows not only to hold the mirror up to nature, but to select the nature which shall be mirrored.

Scene 1. The Forest. Enter Noe, bewailing the evil days:
He has served God "sex hundreth yeres and odd,"

"And now I wax old,
Seke, sory and cold,
As muk apon mold
I widder away."

Yet he will cry for himself and his fry that they be brought to God's hall in heaven. God appears above, repenting that He ever made man, and proposing to "fordo all this medill-erd with

floods "; but Noe and his wife He will spare, for they would never strive with Him, nor Him offend. He informs Noe of his purpose, and commands the building of the ark. God, however, appears to be less conversant with the character of Noe's Uxor than her husband, or more tolerant; for no sooner has the Deity disappeared than Noe expresses a doubt as to how this pattern of womankind will take the news:

"Lord, homward will I hast as fast as that I may;
My wife will I frast what she will say [*Exit Deus*]
And I am agast that we get som fray
Betwixt us both:
For she is full tetchee,
For litill oft angre,
If anything wrang be,
Soyne is she wroth."

Tunc perget ad uxorem. Scene II. Noe's House. "God spede, dere wife, how fare ye?" "The best I can; the worse now I see thee." He says that he bears ill-tidings. She opines that he were worthy to be clad in Stafford blue (like a flunkey), for he is always adread of something:

"For I dare be thi borrow,
From even unto morrow,
Thou spekis ever of sorrow;
God send thee onys thi fill."

Women may well curse all ill husbands, she adds—and one such, by Mary, has she; but she knows how to bide her time to "gwite hym his mede":

Noe. "We! hold thi tong, ram-skyt, or I shall thee still."
Uxor. "By my thryft, if thou smyte I shall turne thee untill."
Noe. "We shall assay as tyte: have at thee, Gyll!
Apon the bone shall it byte" (*He strikes her*).
Uxor. "Ah, so, mary! thou amytis ill!
Bot I suppose
I shall not in thi det,
Fflyt of this flett!
Take thee ther a langett
To tye up thi hose!" (*She strikes back.*)

And so the quarrel goes: she promising three blows for two, biting and shrieking withal, till Noe declares for a truce, for he has other work to do. She says no man shall tarry him: as for her "to

spyn will I dress me." He begs her to pray for him busily. "Even as thou prays for me!" and *exit Uxor*.

Scene III. The Forest as before. Noe falls to work upon the ark; in the first stanza lays out the measurements and bends his bones to the tree; in the second, takes off his gown and works in his coat at the mast and wonders when his back will break; in the third makes top and sail, helm and castle, and drives the nails through the boards; in the fourth, builds window and door and three chambers as God had said, pitches them well, thanks God that the labor is fulfilled, and hies him to fetch his wife and meiny.

Scene IV. Noe's House. "Why, syr, what ails you?" cries she. No one is hurting him, but if he feels afraid he had better run away. "There is other yarn on the reel, my dame," replies he, and proceeds to inform her of the approaching flood. She is dazed, and dodders for fear of the tale, and with her sons prepares to "trus the gear"; but when it comes to getting it into the ark,—

"I was never barred ere, as ever myght I the (thrive)
In sich an oostre (hostelry) as this.
In faith I can not fynd
Which is before, which is behynd,
Bot shall we here be pynd,
Noe, as have thou blis?"

Noe. "Dame, as it is skill, here must us abide grace;
Therefore, wife, with good will, come into this place."

Uxor. "Sir, for Jak nor for Gyll, will I turne my face
Till I have on this hill, apon a space
On my rok (distaff)."

The heavens open; it thunders and lightens; down fall halls and bowers, castles and towers.

"Therefor, wife, have done! Come into ship fast."

Uxor. "Yei, Noe, go cloute thi shoon; the better will they last."

The sons' wives take a hand, but in faith yet will she spin, all in vain do they carp. "If ye like," says one more wily than the rest, probably Japhet's *mulier*, "If ye like, ye may spin, mother, in the ship." But Noe spoils the device by announcing that this is the second call for embarkation, "dame, on my friendship." Whereupon, *Uxor*—

"Wheder I lose or wyn, in faith, thi felowship
 Set I not at a pyn, this spyndill will I slip
 Apon this hill
 Or I styr oone fote."

She changes her mind, however, when the water "nighs so near that she sits not dry," and hies her into ship with a "byr" for dread that she drown. "In faith, and for your long tarrying," cries Noe, "ye shall lick on the whip." She retorts, "Big words don't hurt." He bids her cry him "Mercy!" She wishes she were a widow, she wouldn't grudge a mass-penny for his soul; and she sees many a wife in the audience that would hail like deliverance. Noe rejoins with sprightly advice to husbands:

"Ye men that has wifs, whyls they ar yong,
 If ye luf youre lifs chastice thare tong:
 Me thynk my hert ryfis both levyr and long
 To see sich stryfis wedmen emong,
 Bot I,
 As have I blys,
 Shall chastyse this."
Uxor. "Yit mary ye mys,
 Nicholl nedy!"

More picturesque repartee. He cudgels her and catches a beating in turn. In fine, all passion spent, they enter the ark.

Scene V. In the Ark. The parents are upbraided by the three sons. Noe assents, "We will do as ye bid us; we will be no more wroth, dear bairns," and he "hents to the helm." Uxor takes interest in the spectacle of the heavens and of the rising flood. She assists in the sailing with good counsel and obedience, till the "hilys of Armonye" are touched, and the voyage brought to its traditional conclusion.

To the crude conception, somewhat scanty humor and deficient "business" of the York play have been added surprise (consider the satisfaction of the female spectators when Uxor escapes after having once consented to enter the ark), variety and rapidity of action, vivid reproduction of human ways and local manners, racy speech, familiar idiom—if not the thrust and parry, at any rate the quarter-staff of tongues, a reckless humor, and a rhythmic swing.

The products of the York school of comic composition still remaining to be considered are to be found in the plays of *The*

Angels and the Shepherds and the *Sacrificium Cayme and Abell*, and of them a word will be appropriate later in connection with their correspondents of Chester and Coventry as well as Wakefield.

When one considers the uniformity of style and temper, scholarship and verse of this group of plays more or less inspired by the York schools of humor and realism—and their distinctive character, withal; their Latinity and joviality and their satiric indirection—one is not only tempted to assign them to a single author, but with Leach and Pollard to figure him as some whilom clerk of Oxford or of Cambridge, not a monk, indeed, but some “jolly Absalon” who not only wrote but played by times on “scaffold high” his Herod and his Pilate both, mayhaps his Noe, and Mak, the sheep-thief, too. I have mentioned in passing the masterpiece of the nine-line stanza in which Mak and the shepherds prelude the birth of Christ. This little English comedy, the *Secunda Pastorum*, gathers in itself the qualities already noted in the playwright’s other work, and adds a technique surpassing that of any drama up to that time written. The only preceding play that can bear comparison with it from the point of view of realism and of that shrewd reflection of contemporary conditions which makes for interest, is the *Prima Pastorum* of the same author. But the *Prima* is rather a dramatic idyll than a comedy; for though it possesses comic motive and dialogue, it lacks comic action. It is a pastoral picture in most diverting panels. What could be more humorous than the little scene where Gyb, going to buy sheep, quarrels with his friend Horne as to where he shall pasture them, though they are not yet bought; and shouts to the bell-wether to possess the land? When Horne won’t let the imaginary wether obey, and Gyb threatens to break his head, up comes in a lucky moment Slowpace, who discovers that they are matching castles in Spain, and, like a fourteenth-century Sam Weller, takes the conceit out of both by his story of Moll, who, while casting up the account of her many sheep, broke her pitcher:

“Ho, God,” she sayde,
But oone shepe yit she hade,
The mylk pycher so layde,
The skar this was the tokyn.”

To conclude the matter, Slowpace bids the disputants hold his mare while he shakes his sack empty to indicate how thin their wits are.

Nothing like this had been produced by way of comic scenes before, and few things like it had been produced in the way of native humor. But the *Prima* cannot compare with the *Secunda* in movement. From that point of view the only play comparable is the *Shepherds' Play* of Chester. Whether that was written somewhat earlier, or somewhat later, we cannot say, but that it resembles the Wakefield masterpiece in the attempt to reproduce pastoral life and manners is indubitable; though in technique, as well as tone and style, it is inferior.

This Chester pastoral opens with a shepherd gathering simples for his flock; and it furnishes us with a joint dinner like the Wakefield plays, with a wrestling match between the boy Trowle and his three masters, and with the singing of the angels and the usual colloquy concerning the Latin of the song. The boy Trowle, indeed a most lethargic and humorous lout, is one of the originals of miracle comedy. A lazier mode than his of directing a passing traveler would be difficult to devise:

"Yf any man come me bye
And would witte which waie were beste:
My leg I lifte up as I lye
And wishe hym the waie este or weste."

But the comic bustle of the Chester pastoral is action without plot; the Wakefield *Secunda*, on the other hand, is plot within plot, developed through eight closely consecutive scenes and crowded with action. The comic adventure is indeed but an episode—this "sheep stealing of Mak"—but it has its beginning, middle, and end; the motive, the devices, and the progress of a comedietta in itself. It grows out of and belongs to the conditions with which the enveloping action opens, and its party of the second part are also dramatic persons in the main action. From every point of view—conception, construction, effect—this play, up to the end of the Mak episode, is quite on a level with *Pathelin vint au vin* or anything that John Heywood has written. In dramatic interest it is quite the equal of Heywood's best interlude; and

in power of observation, as well as in the reproduction of everyday life, it excels *Tom Tyler*, *Thersytes*, or any other play written before the sixteenth century. As a work of dramatic genius this little play, with its home-made philosophy, home-made figures, and home-made humor, with its comic business, its sometimes boisterous spirits, its quiet and subtle irony, its ludicrous diction, its revelation of rural characters and manners, its simple and healthful creed, its radiant and naïve devoutness, its dramatic anticipations, postponements, and surprises, stands out English and alone, and a masterpiece.

The plot is so well known that an outline would be superfluous; but I doubt whether sufficient attention has been directed to the realistic portrayal of its characters: Coll, the first shepherd, who soliloquizes concerning political philosophy, a kind of later fourteenth-century populist whom it refreshes to grumble:

"It dos me good, as I walk thus by myn oone,
Of this world for to talk in maner of mone,"

Gyb, the second shepherd, whose vein is of matrimonial philosophy, and whose dame is—

"As sharp as a thystyll, as rough as a brere,
She is browed like a brystyll with a sowre loten chere,"

and counts it a marvel due to destiny that—

"Som men wyll have two wyfs and som men three
(In store—)
Som are wo that has any!"

and Daw, the hind, whose philosophy is eclectic, who swears by the unborn Christ and Saint Nicholas, and "lets the world pass." It is he who sees "sudden sights in the darkness"; it is he who warns of the midnight-stalking Mak; it is he who makes that "Yoman" of the king lie safely down between them; it is he, too, who dreams of the stolen sheep and conducts the vain search therefor; and who, fortunately flinging back to Mak's home to give the hypothetical babe "that lytyll day starne" a "saxpence," lifts up the clout and diagnoses the fraud that has been practiced upon them. Mak himself is a piece of characterization of which a nine-

teenth-century dramatist need not be ashamed. Behold him slinking in at night with his habit of disguise and his "southern tooth" and his sanctimonious plaint—

"Now wold God I were in heven,
For there wepe no barnes."

Mark his delicate taste, his delicious hypocrisy! But mark with greater admiration still that worthy seconder of his wiles, his somewhat unduly prolific wife, Gyll, who, confined of the "borrowed sheep," declines the approach of visitors for no less reason than that—

"Ich fote that ye trede goys
thorow my nese,
Thorow my nese,
So hee!"

This comedy, with its background of reality and its atmosphere of worship when once the Stable is in sight, is the climax of the dramatic movement present in the York cycle and forwarded by those portions of the Wakefield which we have described. It so completely eclipses the York play of *The Angels and the Shepherds*, with its scanty realism and its solitary guffaw, that if it were not for the effort of the Second York Shepherd to imitate the angelic choir, and the rustic naïveté of the adoration in the Stable, the kinship of the two plays would be difficult to trace. The Coventry, indeed, shows a closer resemblance to the York in matters of detail, and the Chester to the Wakefield, than the Wakefield and the York show to each other. It must, however, still be conceded that in spirit and manner, the Wakefield *Prima* and *Secunda Pastorum*, though not derived from the corresponding York play, are the full flower of the comic and realistic promise of the York cycle.

Passing now to those parts of the two cycles most marked by methods of the realist, and still confining our selection from the Wakefield plays to those written in the nine-line stanza, we note that approximately the same relation obtains between the realism of Wakefield and the later York school as that held true of the humor of Wakefield and the middle school of York. As said before, the portraiture of manners by the York playwright appears to best advantage in some half-dozen plays, XXVI, XXVIII,

XXIX, XXX, XXXI, XXXIII, etc., which elaborate the preliminaries of the crucifixion, especially those in which Herod, the Beadle, Caiaphas and Annas, Judas and the Janitor, Pilate and Percula, figure. The Herod of the York plays, wherever he appears, is of uniform character. But there are two entirely distinct presentments of him in the cycle of Wakefield: that of *Herod the Great*, written in the nine-line stanza, and that of the *Magi*, written in a different stanza (a a a b a b) and a more alliterative verse. The Herod of the latter is a chip of the York block, boastful and abusive, but aimless in his bombast, trusting to noise and a scattering fire. The Herod of the Wakefield dramatist of the nine-line stanza (XVI), though he may rant and brag, is direct, personal, and concrete. He is of the stuff of the craftsman that plays him. The very lilt of his metre is provocative of laughter; so, also, are the metres of his *Nuncius*: the rapid succession of rhymes, often double rhymes at that, the jocosity of vituperation, its figurative as well as mouth-filling finality—

“Ffor if I beggyn I breke ilka bone
And pull fro the skyn the carcas anone,
.....Yei, perde!”

But it is when we consider the subtler qualities of style, mock-heroic and double-edged, that we descry the master. In the grotesque cosmography of Herod's dominions—

“Tuskane and Turkey,
All Inde and Italy,
Sicily and Surrey
Drede hym and dowyts.

“From Paradyse to Padua, to Mount Flascon;
From Sarceny to Susa, to Grece it abowne;
From Eglyp to Mantua, unto Kemptown;
Both Normondy and Norwa lowtys to his crown;
His renowne
Can no tong tell,
From heven unto hell;
Of hym can none spell
Bot his cosyn Mahowne”;

in the reference to familiar interests of the audience, to the “Tales” of Boethius, the Epistles, the Holy Grail, in the sly literary criticism and the satire on ecclesiastical preferments (for if

Herod lives in land the Councillor who advised the massacre of the infants is to be made Pope); in the burlesque of the massacre at Bethlehem—" Dame," courteously ventures the murderous *Miles*, " think it not ill, thy child if I kill," and the bargaining between Herod and his knights concerning their recompense—his promise of money (next time he comes)—in all this there appears a marked advance upon the portrayal of character and manners and the actuality of thought and expression afforded by the *Herodiams* of York. Now, this parallel is the more instructive because the general treatment of this subject⁴ in the *Wakefield* is so like that of the York, and the common characteristics of these two versions so distinct from the Chester and Coventry plays that we cannot but suppose that the chief dramatist of *Wakefield* took the York plays as his model. He produces, however, an independent result.

The Janitor of the York, and the Pilate, Percula and Beadle of the domestic scene are not reproduced in the *Wakefield* cycle. The Judas, however, reappears in a *Wakefield* play, *The Conspiracy*, written in an old York metre and probably borrowed from a discarded York original. There is no trace of the *Wakefield* Master in his construction. Wherever the dramatist of the nine-line stanza touches a character, he endows it with qualities unknown to the other cycles—all making for a more artistic realism. He prefixes, for instance, six stanzas to this *Conspiracy* and in them causes Pilate, sitting upon the bench, to display a political shrewdness of which his continuator in the rest of the pageant is quite incapable:

" Ffor I am he that may make or mar a man;
 Myself if I it say, as men of cowrte now can;
 Supporte a man to-day, to-morn agans hym than,
 On both parties thus I play, And fenys me to ordan
 The right;
 Bot all fals indytars,
 Questmangers and jurors,
 And all thise fals outrydars,
 Ar welcom to my sight."

This Pilate is the first trimmer in English comedy. He is developed, also, through the first half of the *Wakefield Scourging*, and the whole of the *Talents*; and he is both derived from and an im-

⁴ See Hohlfield on T. XVI and Y. XIX.

provement upon a quondam York Pilate who, in my opinion, survives in that rôle in other parts of the Wakefield. The earlier Pilate is timid and ingenuous, the latter full of subtlety, breeze, and wit, and wholly given over to jokes and Latin tags and macaronic verses. He is also like most of the characters created by the Master, of proverbial philosophy compact. The clue to the procurator's character as given above is repeated in the second stanza of the *Scourging*, the refrain of which is in the same words and verse as *Conspiracy*, 3, although the earlier part of the stanza doubles the metre of the nine-line stanza. This is interesting because it proves that there is some connection between the Master's productions and those of some Wakefield experimenter who followed or preceded him,⁵ or that the Master was capable at times of varying his stanza.

In the art of the Wakefield cycle there is, of course, much of the powerfully and grimly actual that cannot be attributed to the Player-clerk. The preparations for the crucifixion, for instance, with the wrenching of Christ's body to fit the cross, the binding and the nailing, the jolting of the timber into the mortice, the jesting and jeering of the torturers, are a distinct counterpart of the *Crucifixio Cristi* of York, and bear no mark of our dramatist. Their realism is the transcript of the physically horrible, their style the straightforward, grisly poetizing of the "pynner" or the "paynter." How different the proverbial philosophy, the side-plays, the shading of characters, the subtle turns of motive and incident, the allusive quality, the ironic sophistries, the Latinisms, the vocabulary, the sign-manual, in short, of the Player-clerk in the Wakefield *Coliphizacio*, all of which is in his stanza, and in stanzas 5 to 27 of the *Fflagellacio*, which are, also, undoubtedly his. In the latter play the difference stands out the more strikingly because the remaining and older half is at first based upon York XXXIV, *Christ Led Up to Calvary*, and from stanza 42 on literally copied from it. While portions written by the Master do not balk at the cruelty appropriate to the subject of buffeting and scourging, they refrain from the repulsive.

⁵ XXII, 1-4; XXIII, 2; XXVII, 30.

The Wakefield Master is no sentimentalist. His anger is sudden as his sympathy. Always genially ironical, he displays in his revision of the *Judicium* his full power as a satirist. Here, as I have already said, his hatred of oppression, his scorn of vice and self-love, his contempt of sharp and shady practice in kirk or court, upon the bench, behind the counter, and in the home, are welded into one and brought to edge and point. He strikes hard when he will, but he has the comic sense and spares to slay. We may hear him chuckling, this dramatic contemporary of Chaucer, as he pricks the bubble of fashion, lampoons Lollard and "kyrkcha-terar" alike, and parodies the latinity of his age. When his demons speak the syllables leap in rhythmic haste, the rhymes beat a tattoo, and the stanzas hurtle by. Manners, morals, folly and loose living are writ large and pinned to the caitiff. But the poet behind the satire is ever the same, sound in his domestic, social, political philosophy, constant in his sympathy with the down-trodden and in his Godly fear.

Doomsday is at hand: the souls have fled from hell, the devils, too, are out, and one here tells his fellow that he must betake himself to judgment like a peer to Parliament. Up Watling Street shall be the way, but in sooth they had rather be making three whole pilgrimages to Rome. Their books they must take with them for evidence against the damned, and books they have full of all kinds of sinners:

"Of wraggers and wears a bag full of brefes,
Of carpars and cryars, of mychers and thefes,
Of lurdans and lyars that no man lefys
Of flytars, of flyars and renderars of reffys."

The first demon asks if there is anger in their record. There is anger, and treachery, too. "Hast thou ought written there," says the first, "of the femynyn gendere?" "Yei, mo than I may bere," says the second, "of rolles forto render"—

"Thai ar euer in were if thai be tender,
Ill fetyld;
She that is most meke,
When she semys full seke,
She can rase vp a reke
If she be well nettyld."

"Make redy our tolys," continues the first, "for we dele with no folys." "But, Sir," says the second warningly, "it is high time for us to act," for—

"had domysday oght tarid
We must have bigged hell more, the warld is so warid."

....

Faith and truth have no feet upon which to stand, the poor people must bear all the burdens, God is no longer dreaded, and by that we know that doomsday is at hand. "Sir," says the second demon,

"it is saide in old sawes—
the longere that day dawes—
'Wars pepill wars lawes.'"

"I laugh," says the first demon, "at thy reason." To them enters then the hero of their ilk, Tutivillus, registrar to the devil, once their chief tollsman "and sithen courte rollar," but now "master rollar." He has brought in a single hour his thousands to hell: the fool who dresses finely and leaves his children breadless, the woman who shrouds her ugliness with vanities, and—

"When she is thus paynt,
She makys it so quaynte,
She lookys like a saynt,
And wars than the deyle."

Then, in rapid succession, step forth for condemnation the fashions of the day and the souls that flock to the world below: harlots, whores, and bawds; liars, scolds, extortioners, usurers, and backbiters; so that indeed our porter shall have old turning the key. Hell is full and doomsday can no longer be delayed.

Such is a taste of the style that marks the Wakefield plays in nine-line stanza which it is pleasant, and perhaps not utterly unscientific to attribute to some one poet: a younger contemporary of Chaucer, perhaps. No two men could have produced a style of elements in just such combination, in just such proportion, and of such uniformity as these passages possess. Nor does any other writer of the Wakefield cycle approach this style.

In the contributions passed in review there is enough to characterize a comic dramatist, but if we turn from the nine-line stanza to the other pageants of the Wakefield cycle, which are distinctively comic,—even though not in this stanza,—namely, the *Mac-*

tacio, *Abel* and *The Talents*, we cannot long refrain from deciding that the latter owes somewhat to the Wakefield master, the former much.

The Wakefield *Mactacio Abel* is probably a revision of an earlier play in its own cycle. It is certainly later than the York (VII), which is unfortunately a fragment, and not even itself one of the parent cycle. These, again, are more mature and probably of later composition than the Coventry and Chester plays upon the subject, especially the latter. In my article on the Miracle Plays in a former number of this journal, I pointed out that the oldest treatment of the *Abel*, the Cornish, was destitute of humor. The next oldest, the Chester, is not only grim but very crude. Its successor of Coventry conceives the churlish Cain of Chester with pith and merriment, but fails to elaborate the possibilities of action between the brothers. What is left of the York play is full of dramatic life: Cain is a swaggering devil who curses God and his angel, and deliberately tries to thrash the latter. As the extant portion of this play may have suggested to Wakefield the discussion between Cain and Abel, so the original servant or *garcio* of the York (who becomes Brewbarret in the later edition) was probably the prototype of Cayme's *garcio*, Pikeharnes, in the Wakefield. The *garcio* in both is the forerunner of the impudent underling in English comedy, and the Cayme is a model of rusticity and irreverence. The characterization is effected largely by the contrast between Cayme's behavior and Abel's. "God has ever yit byn my fo," cries this reckless skeptic. And when he has sought to defraud God of his burnt-offering and the Lord appears to rebuke him,—

"Why!" cries he, "who is that hob-over-the-wall?
We! who was that that piped so small?"..

The Wakefield *Abel* is an episode of painful reality, with a tragic element, to be sure, but with more of the spice of comedy than had appeared in previous plays upon the subject. The author is a close observer of the Wakefield swains; and here they live perennial with bucolic apothegm and pungent phrase,—fellows of cunning, close-fisted, bargaining with the spiritual. "Never yet," says Cain, "have I borrowed a farthing of God"; he will consequently apportion the Almighty but one-twentieth of the harvest

and that the worst. The relations between Cain and Pykeharnes are caught out of reality; the details of farm life, the ploughing, the objugation of Donnyng, the mare. The technique of the play is also noteworthy for its "asides" and mock-echoes, its variety of scene and its elaborate movement. The final reviser, our Wakefield Master, I think (for these that I have recited are earmarks of his dramaturgy), has not only added the last two stanzas in his favorite form, but has probably lent spice to the first seven. It was probably he who, leaving the other stanzas much as they were, heightened the characterization of Cain and his boy, enriched their speech with proverbs, and made of Abel something other than the milksop presented in the earlier cycles. My word for dialectal peculiarities is not worth much, but I must say that in the livelier parts of this play the language appears to be of a piece with that of the *Prima* and *Secunda Pastorum*.

The Processus Talentorum gives evidence of perhaps three strata of composition, of which the last, an introduction of five stanzas and an epilogue of five more, are not only in the strophe but the phrase and temper of the Wakefield Master. The racy dialogue, the characterization and the rapid movement of the play proper also betray the shaping hand of an artist. In many a humorous touch I think that I recognize the impress of ours. Nothing more natural than to revive the colors when one is framing the picture. The frame itself is in his most distinctive style, quaint, original, brilliant, surprising. There is no mistaking him in the subtlety and satire, the Golliardic verses of Pilate calling for silence and obedience,—

Stynt, I say! gyf men place: quia sum dominus dominorum!
 He that agans me says: rapietur lux oculorum;
 Therefor gyf ye me space: ne tendam vim brachiorum,
 And then gel ye no grace: contestor Iura polorum,
 Caveatis;
 Rewle I the Iurè,
 Maxime purè,
 Towne qnogue rurè,
 Me paveatis,—

He is in the double rhymes, the rapid lilt, the cognizance of contemporary foible and custom, the boisterous humor, and the irony. The play proper is cast principally in a stanzaic mould not elsewhere found in the Wakefield cycle. "Fellows," says the third

torturer, when the three having agreed to cast dice with Pilate for the seamless coat, the highest throw falls to himself:

Felowse, in forward here have I fifteene!
As ye wote I am worthi, won is this Wede.

Pilatus. What, whistyll ye in the wenyande! Where have ye been?
Thou shall abak, bewshere, that blast I forbede.

Tercuis Tortor. Here are men us emong
Lele in our lay, will ly for no leyd
And I wytnes at thaym if I wroght any wrang.

This hurrying a b a b⁴ c³ b⁴ c⁴ of iambs and anapaests differs materially from its wooden congener of York XIV, XXI, and XXV, and has, if my memory serves me, no analogue in the other cycles. It fits itself readily to the adjacent stanzas of nine lines; it conveys material suggestive at various points of the nine-line versifier, and betrays his facile turn for comic situation.

Of the unique idiom of those through whom the Wakefield Master speaks sporadic instances have already been cited; but I cannot leave him without placing a few more on record. "Sir, as I am true knight," says the first torturer, "of my dame since I sucked had I never such a night"; and of the prophesying of Jesus, "He lies for the whetstone, I give Him the prize"; and, before the buffeting begins, "We shall teach Him I wot a new play of Yule." Says *Tortor Secundus* of the victim, "He sets not a fly-wing by Sir Cæsar full even." Cayphas, fretting that his sacerdotal position restrains him from striking Jesus, cries, "He that first made me clerk and taught me my lere, On books for to bark, the Devil give him care!", and when Annas persuades him to desist, "My heart is full cold, nearhand that I swelt; For tales that are told I bolne (burst) at my belt." When Jack the boy comes in to his masters, the quarreling shepherds of the *Prima*, he casually remarks:

"Now God gyf you care, foles all sam;
Sagh I never none so fare bot the foles of Gotham.
Wo is hir that you bare, youre sire and youre dam:
Had she broght furth an hare, a shepe, or a lam,
Had bene well.
Of all the foles I can tell,
From heven unto hell,
Ye thre bere the bell;
God gyf you unceyll!"

The rural wisdom of his Yorkshire craftsmen is similarly redolent of daily use. When Noe's Gyll complains, "We women may wary all ill husbands," and the patriarch retorts, "Ye men that has wives, Whiles they are yong, If ye love your lives chastise their tongue," the audience beholds itself as in a mirror. *Primus Tortor* was not the first to philosophize: "It is better sit still, than rise up and fall"; and *Secundus* is but echoing the lore of the homely wise when he commits dicing to the Devil with "As Fortune assize men will she make, Her manners are nice, She can down and uptake." Pilate portrays the political trimmer that all knew in his confession, "For like as on both sidys the iren the hammer makith playn, So do I that the law has been in my kepyng"; and his counselor but echoes public thought when he upbraids this ruler with "Why should I not mell of those matters that I you taught? Though ye be prince peerless without any peer, Were not *my* wise wisdom, your wits were in waght (peril); And that is seen express and plainly right here." Of the moralizing of the *Secunda Pastorum* I have already spoken; the *Prima* is equally observant of the common lot. "Lord," grumbles Gyb, as he enters, "what they are well that hence are past, for they nought feel them too downcast." "After our play in this world comes sorrow; after riches, poverty; horseman Jack Cope walks then, I ween. Rents are coming thick but my purse is weak; nay, if ill-luck will grind, may God from his heaven send grace." "Poor men," groans John Horne, "are in the dyke, and often Time mars; such is the world; no helpers are here." "Yea," rejoins Gyb,—

"It is sayde full ryfe
A man may not wyfe
And also thryfe
And all in a yere."

No better index to the view of life of our mediæval workaday forefathers still endures than that afforded by their Miracle plays. No more ingenuous and keen account than that dramatized by the Player-clerk of Wakefield.

THE WORLDS OF SALIMBENE

HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR

MAKING many exceptions, and with all proper doubts of the validity of generalization, one may say that the Middle Ages were not characterized by the open eye. It may be that the visions of men are always directed if not limited by the master tendencies and interests of their period. Yet this seems to have been peculiarly so in the Middle Ages. We see, for example, mediæval religious views deflect the judgment of thoughtful men from a simple appreciation of the elements of mortal life; and we see the symbolism, which held material things to be antitypes of spiritual truths, close men's eyes to the character of the phenomena of the natural world. Again we observe that the literary attitude toward works of the classic imagination is set by the interest, as it were, of a docile pupil in books which it would be irreverent for him to regard as other than primarily instructive.

A consequence is that the mediæval Latin records, chronicles, and lives of saints rarely afford broad and variegated pictures of the world; but follow certain lines, parallel and repeated till we sigh for change. As they were so largely the works of monks, it is obvious that they would set forth only what would strike the monastic eye—an eye often intense with its inner vision, but not wide open to the occurrences of life. From the point of view of our modern interests, the monk was not a good observer; nor (which is to say the same in other words), had he broad human sympathies. Of course there were exceptions; one of them was the Franciscan Salimbene, an undeniable if not too loving son of an alert north Italian city, Parma.

Humanism springs from cities; and it began in Italy long before Petrarch. North of the Alps there was nothing like the city life of Italy, so quick and voluble, so unreticent and unrestrained, open and neighborly—neighbors hate as well as love! From Cicero's time, from Numa's, if one will, Italian life was what it never ceased to be—urban. The city was the centre and the bound

of human intercourse, almost of human sympathy. This was always true; as true in those devastated seventh, eighth and ninth centuries as before or after; certainly true of the tenth and eleventh centuries when the Lombards and other Teuton children of the waste and forest had become good urban Italians. It was still more abundantly true of the following centuries when life was burgeoning with power.

Whatever other cause or source or parentage it had, humanism was a city child. And as city life never ceased in Italy, that land had no unhumanistic period. There humanism always existed, whether we take it in the narrower sense of love of humanistic, that is antique literature, or broadly, as in the words of old Menander-Terence: *homo sum, humani nil a me alienum*.

Now turn to the close of the twelfth century, and look at Francis of Assisi. It is his humanism and his naturalism, his interest in men and women, and in bird and beast as well, that fills this sweet lover of Christ with tender sympathy for them all. Through him human interest and love of man drew monasticism from its cloister, and sent it forth upon an unhampered ministry of love. Francis (God bless him!) had not been Francis had he not been Francis of Assisi.

A certain gifted, well-born city child was five years old when Francis died. It was to be his lot to paint for posterity a picture of his world such as no man had painted before; and in all his work no line suggests so many reasons for the differences between Italy and the lands north of the Alps, and also so many why Salimbene happened to be what he was, as this remark, relating to his French tour: "In France *only the townspeople* dwell in the towns; the knights and noble ladies stay in their villas and on their own domains."

Only the townspeople live in the towns, merchants, craftsmen, artisans—the unleavened bourgeoisie! In Lombardy how different! There knights and nobles, and their lovely ladies, have their strong dwellings in the towns; jostle with the "townspeople," converse with them, intermarry sometimes, lord it over them when they can, hate them, murder them. But there they are, and what variety and color and picturesqueness and illumina-

tion do they not add to city life? If a Lombardy town thronged with merchants and craftsmen; it was also gay and voluptuous with knights and ladies. How rich and fascinating its life compared with the grey towns beyond the Alps! In France the townspeople made an audience for the Fabliaux. The Italian town had that and also its courtly audience of knight and dame for the love lyrics of the troubadour and the romances of chivalry. In fact the whole world was there, and not just work-a-day, sorry, parts of it.

Had it not been for the full and varied city life in which he was born and bred, the quick-eyed youth would not have had that fund of human interest and intuition which makes him so pleasant and so different from anyone north of the Alps in the thirteenth century. A city boy indeed, and what a full personality! He was to be a man of human curiosity, a tireless sight-seer. His interest is universal; his human love quick enough—for those he loved. For he was no saint, although a Minorite. His detestation is vivid, illuminating; it brings the hated man before us. And Salimbene's wide-open eyes are his own. He sees with a fresh vision; he is himself; a man of temperament, which lends its colors to the panorama. His own interest or curiosity is paramount with him; so his narrative will naïvely follow his sweet will and whim, and pass from topic to topic in chase of the suggestions of his thoughts.

The result is for us a unique treasure-trove. The story presents the world and something more; two worlds, if you will, very co-related: macrocosmos and microcosmos, the world without and the very eager *ego*, Salimbene. There he is unfailingly, the writer in his world. Scarcely another mediæval penman so clearly shows either himself or the world he moves about in. Let us follow, for a little, his autobiographic chronicle, taking the liberty which he always took, of selecting as we choose.

In the year 1221 Salimbene was born at Parma, into the very centre of the world of strife between popes and emperors,—a world wherein also the renewed Gospel was being preached by Francis of Assisi, who did not die till some years later. But St. Dominic died the year of Salimbene's birth. Innocent III, most powerful and prosperous of popes, breathed his last five years

before, leaving him surviving, that viper-nursling of the papacy, Frederic II, an able, much-experienced youth of twenty-two, who afterwards was crowned emperor by Honorius III in the year 1220, and was soon thereafter to make the most resourceful of that imperial line of arch-enemies to the papacy. This Emperor Frederic, whom Innocent III says Salimbene, had exalted and named "Son of the Church," . . . "was a man pestiferous and accursed, a schismatic, heretic and epicurean, who corrupted the whole earth."

Salimbene's family was in high regard at Parma, and the boy naturally saw and perhaps met the interesting strangers coming to the town. He tells us that when he was baptized, the Lord Balianus of Sydon, a great baron of France, a retainer of the Emperor Frederic's, "lifted me from the sacred font." The mother was a pious dame, whom Salimbene loved none too well, because once she snatched up his infant sisters to flee from the danger of the Baptistery toppling over upon their house during an earthquake, and left Salimbene himself lying in his cradle! The father had been a crusader, and was a man of wealth and influence.

So the youth was born into a stirring swirl of life. These vigorous northern Italian cities hated each other shrewdly in the thirteenth century. When the boy was eight years old a great fight took place between the folk of Parma, Modena and Cremona on the one side, and that big, blustering Bologna. Hot was the battle. On the *Carrocio* of Parma only one man remained; for it was stripped of its defenders by the stones from those novel war engines of the Bolognese, called *manganellæ*. Nevertheless, the three towns won the battle, and the Bolognese turned their backs and abandoned their own *Carrocio*. The Cremona people wanted to drag it within their walls; but the prudent Parma leaders prevented it, because such action would have been an insult forever and a lasting cause of war with a strong enemy. But Salimbene saw the captured *manganellæ* brought as trophies into his city.

Other scenes of more peaceful rejoicing came before his eyes; as in the year 1233, he being twelve years old. That was a year

of alleluja, as it was afterwards called, "to wit, a time of peace and quiet, of joy, jollity and merry-making, of praise and jubilee; because wars were over. Horse and foot, townsfolk and rustics, youths and virgins, old and young, sang songs and hymns. There was such devotion in all the cities of Italy. And I saw that each quarter of the city would have its banner in the procession, a banner on which was painted the figure of its martyr-saint. And men and women, boys and girls thronged from the villages to the city with their flags, to hear the preaching, and praise God. They had branches of trees and lighted candles. There was preaching morning, noon and evening, and *stationes* arranged in churches and squares; and they lifted their hands to God to praise and bless Him forever. Nor could they cease, so drunk were they with love divine. There was no wrath among them, or disquiet or rancor. Everything was peaceful and benign; I saw it with my eyes." And then Salimbene tells of all the famous preachers, and the lovely hymns, and Ave Marias; Frater So-and-so, from Bologna; Frater So-and-so, from somewhere else; Minorite and Preaching Friar.

One might almost fancy himself in the Florence of Savonarola. Like enough this season of soul outpour and tears and songs of joy first stirred the religious temper of this quickly moved youth. These were also the great days of dawning for the friars. Dominic was not yet sainted; yet his Order of the Preaching Friars was growing. The blessed Francis had been canonized—sainted had he been indeed before his death! And the world was turning to these novel, open, sympathetic brethren who were pouring themselves through Europe. Love's mendicancy, envied but not yet discredited, was before men's eyes and in men's thoughts; and what opportunity it offered of helping people, of saving one's own soul, and of seeing the world! We can guess how Salimbene's temper was drawn by it. We know at least that one of these friars, Brother Girard of Modena, who preached at this jubilee in Parma, was the man who made petition five years later for Salimbene, so that the Minister-General of the Minorites, Brother Elias, being then at Parma, received the seventeen-year-old boy into the order in the year 1238.

Salimbene's father was frantic at the loss of his heir. Never while he lived did he cease to lament it. He at once began strenuous appeals to have his son returned to him. Salimbene's account of this exhibits himself, his father, and the situation.

"He complained to the Emperor (Frederic II), who had come to Parma, that the brothers Minorites had taken his son from him. The Emperor wrote to Brother Elias that if he held his favor dear, he should return me to my father. Then my father went to Assisi, where Brother Elias was, and gave him the Emperor's letter.

"When the imperial letter had been read, Brother Elias wrote at once to the brethren of the convent at Fano, where I dwelt, that if I wished it, they should return me to my father without delay; but that if I did not wish to go with my father, they should guard and keep me as the pupil of his eye.

"A number of knights came with my father to Fano, to see the end of my affair. There was I and my salvation made the centre of the spectacle. The brethren were assembled, with them of the world; and there was much talk. My father produced the letter of the Minister-General, and showed it to the brothers. When it was read, Brother Jeremiah, who was in charge of me, answered my father in the hearing of all: 'Lord Guido, we sympathize with your distress, and are prepared to obey the letter of our father. Behold, here is your son; he is old enough; let him speak for himself. Ask him; if he wishes to go with you, let him in God's name; if not, we cannot force him.'

"My father asked me whether I wished to go with him or not. I replied, 'No; because the Lord says, "No one putting his hand to the plow and looking back is fit for the kingdom of God."'

"And father said to me: 'Thou carest not for thy father and mother, who are afflicted with many griefs for thee.'

"I replied: 'Truly I do not care, because the Lord says, "Who loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me." But of thee He also says: "Who loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me." Thou oughtest to care, father, for Him who hung on the cross for us, that He might give us eternal life. For it is Himself who says: "I am come to set a man

against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. And a man's foes are they of his household."'

"The brethren wondered and rejoiced that I said such things to my father. And then my father said: 'You have bewitched and deceived my son, so that he will not mind me. I will complain again of you to the Emperor, and to the Minister-General. Now let me speak with my son apart from you; and you will see him follow me without delay.'

"So the brothers allowed me to talk with him alone; for they began to have a little confidence in me, because of my words. Yet they listened behind the wall to what we should say. For they trembled as a reed in water, lest my father should alter my mind with his blandishments. And not for me alone they feared, but lest my return should hinder others from entering the order.

"Then my father said to me: 'Dear son, don't believe those nasty tunics who have deceived you; but come with me, and I will give you all I have.'

"And I replied: 'Go away, father. As the wise man says in Proverbs, "Thou shalt not hinder him to do right, who is able."'

"And my father answered with tears, and said to me: 'What, then, son, shall I say to thy mother, who is afflicted because of thee?'

"And I say to him: 'Thou shalt tell her from me, thus says thy son: "My father and mother have forsaken me, and the Lord hath taken me up"; also (Jer. III): "Thou shalt call me Father, and walk after me in my steps. . . . It is good for a man when he has borne the yoke from his youth."'

"Hearing all these things, my father, despairing of my coming out, threw himself down in the presence of the brethren and the secular folk who had come with him, and said: 'I give thee to a thousand devils, cursed son, thee and thy brother here who has deceived thee. My curse be on you forever, and may it commend you to the spirits of hell.' And he went away excited beyond measure; while we remained greatly comforted and giving thanks to our God, and saying to each other, 'They shall curse,

and thou shalt bless.' Likewise the seculars retired edified at my constancy. The brethren also rejoiced, seeing what the Lord had wrought through me, his little boy."

This whole scene is anything rather than intended satire. It was such a conflict as the thirteenth century witnessed daily, and the twelfth, and other mediæval centuries as well. The letters of St. Bernard set forth situations quite as extreme—outrageous from modern points of view. And Bernard can apply (or shall we say, distort?) Scripture in the same drastic fashion. But these monks meant it deeply; and from their standpoint they were in the right with their quotations. The attitude goes back to Jerome; that a man's father and mother, and they of his own household, may be his worst enemies, if they seek to hinder his feet set toward God. Of course, we can see the sensible, worldly, martial father of the youth leap in the air and roll on the ground in rage; flesh and blood could not stand such turn of Scripture: "Tell my weeping mother (who so longs for me) that I say my father and mother have forsaken me and the Lord hath taken me up!" This came to the Lord Guido as a maddening gibe; but Salimbene meant simply that his parents did not care for his highest welfare, and the Lord had received him into the path of salvation. It is all a scene which should evoke our serious reflections—after which it may be permitted us to enjoy it as we will.

In his conscience Salimbene felt justified; for a dream set the seal of divine approval on his conduct: "The Blessed Virgin rewarded me that very night. For it seemed to me that I was lying prostrate in prayer before her altar, as the brothers are wont when they rise for matins. And I heard the voice of the Blessed Virgin calling me. Lifting my face, I saw her sitting above the altar in that place where is set the host and the calix. She had her little boy in her lap, and she held Him out to me, saying: 'Approach without fear and kiss my Son, whom yesterday thou didst confess before men.' And when I was afraid, I saw that the little boy gladly stretched out His arms. Trusting His innocence and the graciousness of His mother, I drew near, embraced and kissed Him; and the benign mother gave Him to me for a long while. And when I could not have enough of it the Blessed Virgin blessed

me and said: 'Go, beloved son, and lie down, lest the brothers, rising for matins, find thee here with us.' I obeyed, and the vision disappeared; but unspeakable sweetness remained in my heart. Never in the world have I had such bliss."

An inner power of spiritual enthusiasm and fantasy accompanied Salimbene through his life. It gave him always a double point of view: he looks at things as they are, with glad curiosity and interest, and ever and anon loses himself within his transcendental dreams of Paradise and all at last made perfect. The love of the human and the earthly, with a deeper, as it were, noumenal, contempt for the same, makes this double-sighted man a blithe, amusing fellow traveler for his transcendental self, which will draw away into the clouds, whenever motive or suggestion comes.

Although the father had devoted his recalcitrant son to a thousand devils, he did not cease from attempts, by persuasion and even violence, to draw him back into his own civic and martial world. So the young man got permission from the Minister-General to go and live in Tuscany, where he might be beyond the reach of the parental activities. "Thereupon I went and lived in Tuscany for eight years, two of them at Lucca, two at Sienna, and four at Pisa." Young he was, in heart and years, and readily took up with the companionship of the ne'er-do-well vagabonds who frequently attached themselves, as lay brothers, to the Franciscan Order. Listen to the story of a day's outing with one of whose character Salimbene is outspoken without personal repugnance: "I was a young man when I dwelt at Pisa. One day I went out begging with a certain lay brother, a good-for-nothing. He was a Pisan, and the same who afterwards went and lived with the brothers of Fixulus (Fiesole?), where they had to drag him out of a well which he had jumped into from some foolishness or desperation. Then he disappeared, and could not be found. The brothers thought the devil had carried him off. However that may have been, this day at Pisa he and I went with our baskets to beg bread, and chanced to enter a courtyard. Above, all about, hung a thick leafy vine, its freshness lovely to see and its shade sweet for resting in. There were leopards there and other beasts from over the sea, at which we gazed long, transfixed with delight,

as one will at the sight of the novel and the beautiful. Girls were there also and boys at their sweetest age, handsome and lovely, and ten times as alluring for their beautiful clothes. Boys and girls held violas and cytharas and other musical instruments in their hands, on which they made sweet melodies, accompanied with gestures. There was no hub-bub, nor did anyone talk; but all listened in silence. And the song which they chanted was so new and lovely in words and melody as to gladden the heart exceedingly. None spoke to us, nor did we say a word to anyone. They did not stop singing and playing so long as we were there—and long indeed we lingered and could scarcely take ourselves away. God knows, I do not, who set this joyful entertainment; for we had never seen anything like it before nor could we ever find its like again."

From the witchery of this cloud-dropped entertainment Salimbene was rudely roused as he went out upon the public way. "A man met me, whom I did not know, and said he was from Parma. He seized upon me, and began to chide and revile: 'Away, scamp, away!' he cried. 'A crowd of servants in your father's house have bread enough and meat; and you go from door to door begging bread from those without it, when you have enough to give to any number of beggars! You ought to be riding on a warhorse through Parma, and delighting people with your skill with the lance, so that there might be a sight for the ladies, and comfort for the players. Now your father is worn with grief and your mother from love of you, so she despairs of God.' "

Salimbene fended off this attack of carnal wisdom with many texts of Scripture. Yet the other's words set him to thinking that perhaps it would be hard to lead a beggar's life year after year until old age. And he lay awake that night, until God comforted him as before with a reassuring dream.

Pretty dreamer as he was, Salimbene can often tell a ribald tale. There was rivalry, as may be imagined, between the Dominicans—*solemnnes predicatores*—and the Minorites. The former seem occasionally to have concerted together so as to have knowledge of what their friends in other places were about. Then, when preaching, they would exhibit marvels of second sight, which

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on investigation proved true! A certain Brother John of Vicenza was a Dominican famed for preaching and miracles, perhaps, and with such overtopping sense of himself that he went at least a little mad. Bologna was his tarrying-place. There a certain Florentine grammarian, Boncompagnus, tired of the foolery, made gibing rhymes about him and his admirers, and said he would do a miracle himself, and at a certain hour would fly with wings from the pinnacle of Sta. Maria in Monte. All come together at that hour to see. There he stands aloft, with his wings ready, and the folk expectant, for a long time—and then he bids them disperse with God's blessing, for it is enough for them to have seen him. They then knew that they had been fooled!

None the less the *dementia* of Brother John increases, so that one day at the Dominican convent in Bologna he falls into a rage because when his beard was cut the brothers did not preserve the hairs as relics. Now comes along a Minorite, brother God-save-you, a Florentine like Boncompagnus, and like him a great buffoon and joker. To this convent he comes, but refuses all invitation to stay and eat, unless a piece of the cloak of Brother John be given him, which was kept to hold relics. So they give him a piece of the cloak, and after dinner he goes off, and befouls it, folds it up, and calls for all to come and see the precious relics of the sainted John, which he lost in the *latrina*. So they flock, and are somewhat more than satisfied.

The reader will pardon this coarse story for the sake of illustration; there are many worse than it in Salimbene.

No need to say that this good man had a quick eye for beauty, in both men and women; he is always speaking of So-and-so as a handsome man, and such and such a lady as "*pulcherrima domina*," of pleasing ways and moderate stature, neither too tall nor too short.

But one may win a more amusing side-light on Salimbene and the feminine element from the following: Like other popes, Nicholas III made cardinals of many of his relatives. He made a cardinal of one, Lord Latinus, of the Order of Preachers (which we note with a smile, and expect something funny). Him he named as legate to Lombardy and Tuscany and Romagnola. Note

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the enactments of this cardinal-legate: "He disturbed all the women with a 'Constitution' which he promulgated, to wit, that the women should wear short dresses reaching to the ground, and only so much more as a palm's breadth. Formerly they wore trains, sweeping the earth for several feet. A rhymist dubs them:

Et drappi longhi, ke la polver menna—

"The long cloaks that gather up the dust."

"And he had this to be proclaimed in the churches, and imposed it on the women by command; and ordered that no priest should absolve them unless they complied. The which was bitterer to the women than any kind of death! For as a woman said to me familiarly, that train was dearer to her than all the other clothes she wore. And further, Cardinal Latinus decreed that all women, girls, and young ladies, matrons and widows, should wear veils. Which was again a horror for them. But they found a remedy for that tribulation, as they could not for their trains. For they made veils of linen and silk inwoven with gold, with which they looked ten times as well, and drew the eyes of men to lust all the more."

Thus did the Cardinal Legate, the Pope's relative. And plenty of gossip has Salimbene to tell of such creatures of nepotism. "Flesh and blood *had* revealed" to the Pope that he should make cardinals of them, says he with a sort of giant sneer; "for he built up Sion *in sanguinibus*"—that is, through his blood-relatives. "There are a thousand brothers Minorites more fit, on the score of knowledge and holiness, to be cardinals than they." Had not another pope, Urban IV, made chief among the cardinals a relation whose only use as a student had been to fetch the other students' meat from market?

It was a few years after this that Salimbene returned to his native town of Parma, near the time when that city passed from the side of the Emperor to that of the Pope. This was a fatal defection for Frederic, which he set about to repair, by laying siege to the turn-coat city. And the war went on with great devastation, and the wolves and other wild beasts increased and grew bold. Salimbene throws Eccelino da Romano on the scene, that regent

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of the Emperor and monster of cruelty, "who was feared more than the devil," and had once burned to death "eleven thousand Paduans in Verona. The building holding them was set on fire; and while they burned, Eccelino and his knights held a tournament about them (*circa eos*) . . . I verily believe that as the Son of God desired to have one special friend, whom He made like to Himself, to wit the blessed Francis, so the devil fashioned Eccelino in his likeness."

Salimbene tells of the siege of Parma at much length, and of the final defeat of the Emperor, with the destruction of the stronghold which he had built to menace the city, and of all his curious treasures, with the imperial crown itself taken by the men of Parma and their allies. But before this, while the turmoil of the siege was at its height, in 1247, he received orders to leave Parma and set out for Lyons, where Innocent IV, at that time, held his papal court, having fled from Italy from the Emperor, three years before.

Salimbene set out, and reached Lyons on All Saints' day. "At once the Pope sent for me, and talked with me familiarly in his chamber. For since my leaving Parma he had received neither messenger nor letters. And he thanked me warmly and listened to my prayers, for he was a courtly and liberal man; . . . and he absolved me from my sins and appointed me preacher."

Our autobiographic chronicler was at this time twenty-six years old; his personality bespoke a kind reception everywhere. He soon left Lyons, and went on through the towns of Champagne to Troyes, where he found plenty of merchants from Lombardy and Tuscany; for there were markets there, lasting two months. So was it also in Provins, the next halting place; from which Salimbene went on to Paris. There he stayed eight days and saw much which pleased him; and then, going back upon his tracks, he took up his journey to Sens, where he dwelt in the Franciscan convent, "and the French brethren entertained me gladly, because I was a friendly, cheerful youth, and spoke them fair."

From Sens he went south to Auxerre, the place which had been named as his destination when he left Parma. It was in the year 1248, and as he writes (how many years after?) there comes back to him the memory of the grand wines of Auxerre:

"I remember when at Cremona (in 1245) Brother Gabriel, of that place, a Minorite, a great teacher and a man of holy life, told me that Auxerre had more vines and wine than Cremona and Parma and Reggio and Modena together. I wouldn't believe him. But when I came to live at Auxerre I saw that he spoke the truth. It is a large district, or bishopric, and the mountains, hills and plains are covered with vines. There they neither sow nor reap nor gather into barns; but they send their wine by river to Paris, where they sell it nobly, and live and clothe themselves from the proceeds. Three times I went all about the district with one or another of the brothers; once with one who was preaching and affixing crosses for the Crusade of the French King (St. Louis); then with another who preached to the Cistercians in a most beautiful monastery; and the third time we spent Easter with a countess who set before the whole company twelve courses of food, all different. And had the count been at home, there would have been a still greater abundance and variety. Now in four parts of France they drink beer, and in four, wine. And the three lands where the wine is most abundant are La Rochelle, Beaune, and Auxerre. In Auxerre the red wine is least regarded, and is not as good as the Italian. But Auxerre has its white or golden wines which are fragrant and comforting and good, and make every one drinking them feel happy. Some of the Auxerre wine is so strong that when put in a jug drops appear on the outside—*lacrymantur exterius*. The French laugh and say that three b's and seven f's go with the best wine:

Lo vin bon et bel et blanc

Fort et fer et fin et franc,

Freit et fres et fourmijant.¹

"The French delight in good wine—no wonder! since it gladdens God and men. Both French and English are very diligent with their drinking-cups. Indeed, the French have bleary eyes from drinking overmuch; and in the morning after a bout they go to the priest who has celebrated mass and ask him to drop a little of the water in which he has washed his hands into their

¹ I leave this verse to the reader.

eyes. But Brother Bartholomew at Provins has a way of saying it would be better for them if they would put their water in their wine instead of in their eyes.

"As for the English, they take a measure of wine, drink it out, and say: 'I have drunk; now you'—meaning that you should drink as much. And this is their idea of politeness; and anyone will take it very ill if the other does not follow his precept and example."

While Salimbene was living at Auxerre, in the year 1248, a provincial chapter of the Franciscan Order was held at Sens, with the Minister-General, John of Parma, presiding. Thither went Salimbene. The King of France, St. Louis, was expected. And the brothers all went out from the house to receive him. And Brother Rigaud, of the Order, Archbishop of Rouen, having put on his pontifical trappings, left the house and hurried toward the King, asking all the time, "Where is the King? Where is the King?" "And I followed him; for he went alone and frantically, his miter on his head and pastoral staff in hand. He had been tardy in dressing himself, so that the other brothers had gone ahead, and now lined the street, with faces turned from the town, straining to see the King coming. And I wondered, saying to myself that I had read that these Senonian Gauls, under Brennus, once captured Rome; now their women seemed a lot of servant-girls. If the King of France had made a progress through Pisa or Bologna, the whole *élite* of the ladies of the city would have met him. Then I remembered the Gallic way, for the mere townsfolk to dwell in the towns, while the knights and noble ladies live in their castles and possessions.

"The King was slender and graceful, rather lean, of fair height, with an angelic look and gracious face. And he came to the church of the brothers Minorites not in regal pomp, but on foot in the habit of a pilgrim, with wallet and staff, which well adorned his royal shoulder. His own brothers, who were counts, followed in like humility and garb. Nor did the King care as much for the society of nobles as for the prayers and suffrages of the poor. Indeed, he was one to be held a monarch, both on the score of devotion and for his knightly deeds of arms.

" Thus he entered the church of the brethren, with most devout genuflections, and prayed before the altar. And when he left the church and paused at the threshold, I was next to him. And there, on behalf of the church at Sens, the warden presented him with a huge live pike swimming in water in a tub made of fir-wood, such as they bathe babies in. The pike is dear and highly prized in France. The King returned thanks to the sender as well as to the presenter of the gift.

" Then he requested audibly that no one, unless he were a knight, should enter the chapter-house, except the brethren, with whom he wished to speak. When we were met in chapter, the King began to speak of his actions, and, devoutly kneeling, begged the prayers and suffrages of the brethren for himself, his brothers, his lady mother the queen, and all his companions. And certain French brothers, next to me, from devotion and piety, wept as if unconsolable. After the King, Lord Oddo, a Roman cardinal, who once was Chancellor at Paris, and now was to cross the sea with the King, arose and said a few words. Then on behalf of the Order, John of Parma, the Minister-General, spoke fittingly, promising the prayers of the brethren, and ordaining masses for the King; which, thereupon, at the King's request, he confirmed by a letter under his seal.

" Afterwards, on that day, the King paid the expenses and dined with the brethren, in the refectory. There were at table his three brothers, a cardinal of the Roman curia, the Minister-General, and Brother Rigaud, Archbishop of Rouen, and many brethren. The Minister-General, knowing what a noble company was with the King, had no mind to thrust himself forward, although he was asked to sit next the King. So to set an example of courtliness and humility, he sat among the lowest.

" On that day, first we had cherries, and then the very whitest bread; there was wine in abundance and of the best, as befitted the regal magnificence. And after the Gallic custom many reluctant ones were invited and forced to drink. After that we had fresh beans cooked in milk, fish and crabs, eel-pies, rice with milk of almonds and powdered cinnamon, broiled eels with excellent sauce; and plenty of cakes and herbs, and fruit. Everything was well served, and the service at table excellent.

"The following day the King resumed his journey, and I followed him, as the chapter was over; for I had permission to go and stay in Provincia. It was easy for me to find him, as he frequently turned aside to go to the hermitages of the brothers Minorites or some other religious order, to gain their prayers. And he kept this up continually until he reached the sea and took ship for the Holy Land.

"I remember that one day I went to a noble castle in Burgundy, where the body of the Magdalene was then believed to be. The next day was Sunday; and early in the morning came the King to ask the suffrages of the brethren. He dismissed his retinue in the castle, from which the house of the brothers was but a little ways. The King took his own three brothers, as was his wont, and some servants to take care of the horses. And when genuflections and reverences were duly made, the brothers sought benches to sit on. But the King sat on the earth in the dust, as I saw with my eyes. For that church had no pavement. And he called us, saying: 'Come to me, my sweetest brothers, and hear my words.' And we made a circle about him, sitting with him on the earth; and his own brothers likewise. And he asked our prayers, as I have been saying. And when promise had been given him, he rose and went his way."

Is not this a picture of St. Louis, pilgrimaging from convent to convent, to insure the divine aid, and trusting, so far as concerned the business of the Holy Land, quite as much in the prayers of monks as in the deeds of knights?

After this scene, the King proceeded on his way, to make ready for his voyage, and Salimbene went to Lyons, then down the Rhone to Arles, then around by sea to Marseilles, and thence to Aræ, the present Hyères, which lies near the coast. After a happy season there of spiritual comfort with his Franciscan brethren, Salimbene returned to Genua, and from that time on spent his life among the Franciscan brotherhoods of Italy. Henceforth his chronicle is chiefly occupied with those wretched, unceasing wars of Northern Italy, Imperialists against Papists, and city against city, and with the affairs of the Franciscan Order. The story is now less varied, yet not lacking in picturesque qualities; and

through it all we still see the man himself—although the man, as life goes on, seems to become more of a Franciscan monk, and less of an observer of human life. But he continues naïve. Thus he tells that one time, with some companions, he came to Bobbio, that famous book-lovers' foundation of St. Columban, in the mountains north of Genua: "and there we saw one of those water-pots of the Lord, in which the Lord made wine from water at the marriage at Cana; for it is said to be one of those: whether it is, God knows, to whom all things are known and open and naked."

Of those Italian wars,—rather feuds, vengeance, and monstrosities of hate—Salimbene can tell enough. He gives a ghastly picture of the fate of Alberic da Romano, brother of Eccelino, and tyrant indeed of Treviso. "There he lorded it for many years; and cruel and hard was his rule, as those know who experienced it. He was a limb of the devil and a son of iniquity, but he perished by an evil death with his wife and sons and daughters. For those who slew them tore off the legs and arms from their living bodies, in their parents' sight, and with them struck the parents' faces. Then they bound the wife and daughters to stakes and burned them; they were noble, beautiful virgins, nor in any way in fault. But their innocence and beauty did not save them, because of the hatred for the father and mother. Terribly had these afflicted the people of Treviso. So they came upon Alberic with tongs, and"—the sentence is too horrid for translation. But the chronicler goes on to tell that they destroyed his body amid gibes and insults and torments. "For he had killed a blood-relative of this one, and that one's father, son or daughter. And he had laid such taxes and exactions on them that they had to destroy their houses. The very walls and beams and chests and cupboards and wine-vats they put in boats and sent to Ferrara to sell them and redeem themselves. I saw those with my eyes. Alberic pretended to be at war with his brother Eccelino, so as to do his evil deeds more safely; and he did not hold his hand from the slaughter of citizens and subjects. One day he hanged twenty-five prominent men of Treviso, who had done him no ill; because he feared they would! And thirty noble women, mothers, wives and daughters of these, were brought there to see them hanging; and

he had these women stripped half-naked, that those who were hanging might see them so. The men were hanged quite close to the ground; and he forced these women to go so close that their faces were struck by the legs and feet of those who were dying in anguish."

Such was the kind of devil-madness that might walk abroad in Italy in the Middle Ages. Let us relieve our minds by a story our friend tells of a certain boy placed in a Franciscan convent in Bologna to become a monk. "When asleep he snored so mightily that no one could have peace in the same house with him, so horribly did he disturb those who slept as well as those who were at their vigils. And they made him sleep in the shed, where wood and staves were stored; but even then the brothers could not escape, so did that voice of malediction resound through the whole place. And all the priests and wise-acres among the brothers met in the director's chamber, to eject him from the Order because of his insupportable offense: I was there. It was decided to return him to his mother, who had deceived the Order, since she had known his defect before letting him go. But he was not returned to his mother, for the Lord performed a miracle through Brother Nicolas (a holy brother through whom God had worked other miracles as well). This brother, seeing that the boy was to be expelled for no fault, but for a natural defect, called him at day-break to assist at Mass. When the Mass was finished, the boy, as commanded, knelt before him, back of the altar, hoping to receive some grace. Brother Nicolas touched his face and nose with his hands, in the wish to confer health upon him, if the Lord would grant it, and commanded him to keep this secret. What more? The boy at once was cured, and after that slept as quietly as a dormouse without annoying any brother."

So we get glimpses of all this pretty world for which our Salimbene, despite his cowl, has an uncloistered eye. If the breath of a new life is not singing through his veins, still his eye for incident and circumstance is as keen as the inner sight with which he sometimes looked upon the invisible world. All of which, together with the man's blithesomeness, is a presage of the new youthfulness of the Renaissance, which scholars have thought of as a renewal of the immortal youth of paganism.

THE SUPREMACY OF GREEK ART

ADOLPH FURTWÄNGLER

MANY of the best examples of the art of Ancient Greece are scattered and not easily accessible even to the appreciative and industrious student, and therefore they are necessarily of only remote interest to the general public. Some people find justification for their indifference in the development of modern art, which, in general, has repudiated the classicism of the early nineteenth century. Modern classicism gave only spiritless imitations of the Greek, and the antipathy which the weak productions of modern art may have merited has been mistakenly directed at the classic works of Greece. There are many who are wholly absorbed in their admiration for the powerful personality of Rembrandt or of Dürer—both of whom are so much nearer to modern times and modern sentiments. Even the excellent men who first established the conception of a native German art, who took pains to refer our artists to the native soil for inspiration, and whose influence has unquestionably been sound and invigorating, seem to feel under obligation to remove the antique as far as possible from their sphere of influence. Through an artificial restraint put upon the individual, they hope once more to gain the advantages enjoyed by those earlier periods when restraint was natural and it was necessary only to follow original impulses and native tradition to accomplish works of value.

A significant sign of change in the attitude of the public toward the earlier masterpieces may be found in the exhibition held in London by the Burlington Fine Arts Club in the summer of 1903. The success of this exhibition surpassed all expectations. Many had feared that the fragmentary works of the antique would not offer sufficient attraction. Yet the exhibition was a marked success. The commanding vigor of ancient art becomes more effective as art in general is better appreciated, and it is therefore safe to predict that this new interest will continue to increase. At one time recourse was had to imitation, and the resulting creations

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were considered worthy of comparison with their models. However, as culture advances, the conviction will become more general that the antique cannot be reproduced by mere imitation, but must be received and assimilated with loving admiration.

The supremacy of Greek art began to show itself from the beginning. It had a prominent position even in the second chiliad before Christ, an era upon which recent discoveries have shed much light. We are justified in applying the term Greek art to the so-called Mycenæan or Cretan art of that epoch, although its actual creators were not pure Greeks, in the sense of the later classical period. This Cretan art not only spread to the many different races on the islands and on the mainland of Greece, penetrating far into the north, but it also exercised a temporary influence on the older art of the Egyptians. A beautiful gold dagger from the grave of the Aahotep (approximately 1700 B.C.), an excellent example of Egyptian work, shows, in the inlaid animal frieze, an attempt at imitating similar Cretan productions. In the palace of Amenophis IV, even in the reliefs of Medinet Haba (in the bull-hunt), and in many smaller Egyptian works the striving to imitate the peculiar and characteristic freedom of movement can easily be recognized. But the development of Egyptian art had been too fixed to yield materially to outer influence.

The Cretan art was inherently far superior to that of Egypt and the Orient, and within it lay dormant the germ from which the Greek art of the classical period was to spring. Not inflexible restriction but sprightly freedom was its intrinsic principle. It succeeded in catching and representing in action the living, the organic. Of this the stone vase recently unearthed by the Italian expedition in the neighborhood of Phaistos, at Agia Triada on the island of Crete, furnishes new testimony. As a stirring representation of action this vase, with its noisy, restive throng of men and musicians, is a superlative work, and stands far above anything the rich and old civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt ever produced.

As the art of Greece grew up some centuries later it entered into a contest with the Oriental. A lively competition had developed especially between the Greeks and the Phœnicians, in com-

merce as well as in art, and the Greeks were not long in winning the victory. It is interesting to examine in detail the numerous small art specimens unearthed from graves and sanctuaries belonging to the eighth, seventh and sixth centuries before Christ, and to note the struggle which they record and the steady advance and tremendous growth of the Greek elements, which pressed victoriously into the very home of orientalism. The treasures recently found in the graves of old Carthage reveal several astonishing features, and show more especially that the Carthaginians of the sixth century before Christ patronized liberally the work of the Greeks. In the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ wealthy Phœnicians ordered their ornate sarcophagi of them, and the sarcophagi from the royal vault of Sidon preserved in the museum at Constantinople are among the most finished pro-examples remaining to us.

Proud Persia paid full tribute to the Ionic artists. Not only were they commissioned to do various works, but all Persian art after the sixth century before Christ was imbued with the Greek idea, and what we usually designate as Persian art is nothing more than a mixture of Ionic-Greek and oriental elements. The architecture displays Ionic forms and the Ionic style with its richly flowing and delicately draped garments. Somewhat later, during the fifth and fourth centuries, there is ample testimony in the intagliated agates of the Greek's domination, although there are here traces of an adaptation to the Oriental style. In cutting seals for the Persian lords, the Greek artists were obliged to adapt themselves to the religious and social conceptions of their Eastern masters and were even forced to represent the Persian king as conqueror of Greece, yet they executed everything with due regard for the Greek sense of form. The influence of their work penetrated to far India and gave the first impulse to the creation of a monumental plastic art; it is especially noticeable in the oldest monumental sculpture of India from the period following Alexander's conquests, and undoubtedly inspired the first representations of living plants and animals in Chinese art, which may be found on the round metal mirrors.

There was a certain limited interchange of artistic forms be-

tween Egypt and Greece, yet on the whole Egyptian art, inseparably interwoven with the religion of the country, remained strictly isolated and was forced to abandon all hope of progressive development.

To the peoples of the North and West, Greek art penetrated without effort. From the colonies on the Black Sea it spread far into the country of the Scythians, and the barbarians even attempted to work with the elements brought to them from Greece. Thus there arose a peculiar Greek-Scythian style, which penetrated far into Asia. The barbarians changed the simple, natural forms into fantastic monstrosities, as is shown by the gold treasures of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. Indeed, it seems that the dragon on the Chinese coat-of-arms is connected with the introduction of this Greek-Scythian art into Siberia.

The Celts in the West, who had become acquainted with Greek forms of art through the colony of Massilia, were influenced just as the Scythians had been. From a small heritage of Greek elements there was developed a peculiar Celtic style which flourished particularly during the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ. The prehistorians usually refer to this as the Latene style, and assign to it a rather late date. However, of all the western peoples, the Etruscans imbibed these canons most intensively, and in many fields the Etruscan pupils competed successfully with their masters. While the Italic countries, in spite of the fact that they included numerous Greek colonies, always remained indifferent to Grecian art and were unable to develop any characteristic forms, the Etruscans eagerly absorbed its elements and developed them with much success along new lines. At the height of their civilization during the sixth and fifth centuries before Christ, the old Etruscans worked enthusiastically in this art, and it is astonishing to notice how well they succeeded in making it their own, and how skilfully they created original forms from what they had learned. They did their best work in bronze, cut stones, and the scarabees, but in their most successful creations they were never quite able to throw off the yoke of imitation.

The Romans first became acquainted with the art of Greece through the Etruscans, and for a long time Rome's activity in the

sphere of art was but an offshoot of the Etruscan. A mere suggestion will suffice to describe the further development, which is too well known to require elaboration. Rome conquered the antique world, and Greek art conquered Rome. We are in the habit of incorrectly naming antique art, from the time of the consummation of the universal Roman Empire, Roman art. There is no specific art of the Roman Empire.

The forms of art that can properly be styled Italian-Roman are relatively unimportant, and the Greek was always the superior ruling power that furnished the important elements of form. We marvel to see how for centuries those ever-recurring types of athletes, heroes, and divinities which had been created during a brief productive era in little Greece were employed in the statues of the Roman aristocracy, and later of the emperors, princes, empresses and princesses. Pathetic remnants of the masterpieces of this period were later introduced into the Middle Ages by way of Byzantium and Rome.

For many centuries men were blind to antique art, and they demolished the examples of it that had been preserved or resurrected. No sensitive eye in those days was susceptible to its beauties. As men were blind to its charms, so were they blind to the charms of nature, and a loss of susceptibility for the one involved a corresponding lack of appreciation for the other. As soon as people regarded nature once more in its true light they began to recognize the beauty of the antique. This is true of the thirteenth century, the period of the Middle Ages in which a great plastic style was first reborn. The influence of the antique is evident in the work of Niccolo Pisano, and it is highly probable that the French artists who created the real Gothic style were similarly stimulated, especially in the use of the contrapost in the posture of the figure, and the arrangement and cast of the draperies.

Then came the period of the so-called Renaissance, when the work of the older classic artists was admired and its influence strongly felt; as a result of this renewed interest antiques were collected and preserved, and many more were discovered. This sympathetic attitude was but an accompaniment of the new conception of nature which characterized the Renaissance. The

eye became susceptible once more to the infinite profusion of nature forms. However, the atmosphere in which the Renaissance grew up scarcely possessed any attributes of the older Greek art, which began to attain new prominence and influence only through the period of the later Roman emperors. Science then stepped in and gradually recognized that it should attempt to separate the genuine Greek forms from their accessories and penetrate to original sources. It is with this idea that Winckelmann was imbued.

A powerful and revolutionary influence was exercised by the early classic forms upon European art at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. And at this time, again, it was the same impulse which on the one hand demanded a return to nature and the purely human in all fields, and on the other hand called for a return to the antique and the imitation of the Greek masters. This period, however, entirely lacked that independent, virile conception of nature emanating from the individual. Living and real as was the striving of that time for the pure and the natural, and glorious as were the productions of the period in other fields, especially in literature, little was accomplished in art. An immeasurable gap divides the respective developments of art and poetry in the time of Goethe. Imitation of the antique as it was carried on by Thorwaldsen and his followers, only hindered and impaired the true understanding of the original. Those who lacked real artistic perception at that time accepted the elements which imitation had extracted and accentuated as characteristic of the genuine. Such an attitude represents nothing more than vapid generality, a weak, unmasculine banality, devoid of all individual power and of all direct and healthy conception of nature. Forms that did not harmonize and that represented the ideals of totally different epochs, were jumbled together in meaningless fashion. As a natural consequence of this kind of work, the antique was soon regarded as cold and sterile, dreary and empty. However, the establishment of new museums, investigation and new discoveries gradually made known the real Greek forms and the false conception was compelled to make way for a

more correct view. We are living in the very midst of this process of development.

Our modern art at first repudiated the imitation of the antique and then looked for salvation in so-called realism or naturalism. But this stage has had its day. The need of simplification of form and of fixed style is being felt more and more, and at the present day there is noticeable a gradual increase in the number of artists who regard Greek art with warm admiration and turn to it for new strength and inspiration.

Higher painting, an important branch of this art, has been completely lost to us. The remnants of unimportant decorative painting in our possession have aroused enthusiasm wherever they have been made known, and yet they convey only a faint idea of what has been lost and destroyed. Even Greek plastic art is represented only by fragments, and scarcely anything has been preserved of what antiquity itself regarded as the highest and noblest creations, the bronze statues of the masters. We are forced to be content with copies of most of the masterpieces, and generally consider ourselves fortunate in possessing even these paltry and mediocre substitutes. Imagine for a moment what it would mean if we possessed merely a few copies of the great art of the Renaissance. In instituting comparisons between antique and modern art, we must not fail to take into consideration the fact that in one case we have to deal with the masterpieces themselves, in the other with nothing but fragments and copies. The originals that have been transmitted to us do not in any field represent what the Greeks themselves recognized as their finest creations.

A short time ago I stood in the Campos Santo at Pisa, in those attractive halls filled with the works of art of divers epochs. Monuments from all ages and of all styles are here represented, Etruscan and Roman, Gothic and Renaissance, as well as the modern-antique after the manner of Canova. And among all these there stands in perfect modesty an Attic grave-relief from the fourth century before Christ, representing two women, the one sitting, the other standing beside her. Beside this relievo everything else seems insignificant, lifeless, hard, cold, and confined. The absolute supremacy of Greek plastic art appeals to us here in all

its forceful clearness. We are struck by the simplicity and naturalness, the purity and freedom, the human characteristics of those two Attic women, as well as by the clearness of plastic form.

Not long since, I visited Egypt, where I admired the giant works of old Egyptian art, and marveled at the grand architectural monuments as well as at the wealth and refinement of the plastic forms, in which an abundance of observation of nature has been transferred to a truly monumental style. Yet my admiration was constantly cooled by a vein of longing, which became more and more insistent, calling me to the art of Greece. The monotonous immobility and the continual repetition of the same formulas in Egyptian art soon became oppressive. The dull pressure of despotic restraint invests all Egyptian work.

A longing for the Greek masterpieces steals over us not only in the midst of the hoary monuments of Egyptian antiquity, but also in more modern surroundings. Whoever wandered through the vast room containing the works of modern plastics at the Paris Exposition of 1900 must have observed the disquieting and nerve-rending effect they produced upon the beholder. The eye is perhaps never more strongly and directly sensitive to the advantages of antique plastic forms than after having viewed a collection of modern sculpture. This effect can be tested in many museums, but the freshness of the impression is marred by the orderly and systematic arrangement in which our museums present the works of art. Just as the individuality and character of a close acquaintance with whom we come in daily contact do not stand out in clear relief until we meet him unexpectedly, in unaccustomed surroundings, so a single antique placed in entirely foreign surroundings is infinitely more effective than hundreds of well-ordered and catalogued museum pieces.

But I have thus far discussed only the effects, and it is time to turn our attention to the causes. We shall soon find that the determination of the latter is a far more difficult problem than the presentation of the former. One of the chief reasons for the tremendous and ever-commanding influence of this ancient art is to be found in the unique combination of two opposite qualities, which in reality tend towards mutual exclusion. And yet the more

strongly each of these two qualities is accentuated, the higher will be the plane upon which the finished creation will stand. These qualities may be referred to in different terms; we may call them freedom and law, or perhaps nature and style. The intimate combination of these two elements, as well as their intense accentuation, serve to place Greek art in a category by itself, unapproached by any other; in its classical period the two elements are powerfully developed, and yet they counterbalance each other perfectly. In every other instance the scales do not balance, one element outweighs the other.

Law or style is characteristic of the inflexible art of Egypt and the Orient. Greek art, on the contrary, even in its earliest phase—in the so-called Mycenæan or Cretan art of the second chiliad before Christ—wrote upon its banner the principle of natural freedom. And even in those early days, although far behind in technique and command of external means, it rose above all oriental and Egyptian art in consequence of this important principle.

Directly opposed to the first tendency, there is the too one-sided striving for freedom and nature and the consequent neglect of formal style that is plainly depicted in the development of our modern art. In contrast to the disconnected naturalism, devoid of law and tradition, the antique holds up its head proudly in the full possession of a fixed style, even when it represents nature most directly. The exaggerated freedom and the consequent disregard for all style based on tradition, so characteristic of our modern art, have led in recent times to the production of some extreme types. We have turned blindly to various rigid forms of the past, like those of the early Middle Ages or those of Egypt. Disdaining all the demands of freedom and nature, we have attempted to satisfy only the craving for law, and have made use of the constrained designs of ancient primitive art epochs. A particularly striking and notorious example of this modern reaction is the large new Bismarck Monument in Hamburg.

Greek art is absolutely free from all this one-sidedness; it presents no strife between such extremes. By a happy union of the different elements, it acquires the greatest possible monumental

plastic effect, without surrendering the natural freedom of the human form. We are thus, as it were, surrounded by hostile contrasts: we are offered imitations of nature absolutely devoid of style—close copies of an unguided selection from reality; and then again nature is neglected altogether and the stammering language of primitive, rigid forms from past ages is adopted. Tossed to and fro between these contrasts, modern plastic art does not present a very satisfactory picture. Yet if we turn to the great epochs of modern art that have gone by, even in the sculpture of the Renaissance, the only period which from the standpoint of creation in the field of plastics can be compared to the antique, we do not find perfect uniformity in the development of the two united elements. The Renaissance is also defective in one or the other of the two characteristics, and even in the antique we find the most complete union of the two only in the relatively brief period of the highest artistic blossoming.

Before passing on, I wish to elaborate the thesis that the union of the two elements in a work of art is absolutely essential, and that the value of the work depends upon the extent to which it has developed both elements. It is scarcely necessary to point out that the closest reproduction of nature does not result in the best creative effort. Waxworks well illustrate how repulsive mere imitation of nature can be. Every production is the result of our own innermost activity, by which we enter into competition with creative nature and boldly take a place beside her as independent creators. As a consequence the artist as well as the beholder is filled with the enthusiasm which constitutes part and parcel of the full manifestation of every force. The masterpiece can never be a mere imitation of nature, but is in every instance the reproduction, the expression of inward vision and feeling. Even a landscape or a figure that we paint or carve is really not a copy of the object as it actually is, but rather a reproduction of our own inner conception of the object. Thus every work of art becomes an independent original copy as well as re-creation of nature, made in accordance with our own inner needs. There are vast differences in the nature of this need, which changes with time and people; the sole immutable element is the boundary which our human organi-

zation itself draws for us, our receptiveness or capacity for observation. The result remains ever the same: there must be style, no matter how widely the kinds may differ.

As style is emphasized the work of art is removed from nature and its character becomes more pronounced, as something created independently by man himself. At the same time it is regarded as a great blemish—although not by primitive races—if there is too little of the touch of nature. The rigid and strict style of certain art-epochs shows the great fault of not reproducing the most salient feature of organic forms, their capacity of free movement. The less style, the more faithfully is nature portrayed, and the greater is the need of emphasizing the personal productive element which re-creates nature in accordance with its own requirements. Only in this way can it preserve character and be identified. If the personal element be lacking, the work ceases to be true art, and is a mere copy of nature, which stands on an infinitely lower plane than nature itself, and must consequently be more or less repulsive. Our most modern art, unable to combine the element of organic freedom with essential law, has sought refuge in the imitation of primitive styles, preferring to give up the most necessary element of organic figures, freedom of movement, rather than sink to the level of bare imitation. This device sounds the note of despair, yet the principle it recognizes is sound. Reproduction of nature can never be an end in itself, but is a means of expressing an inward conception, of satisfying the individual impulse to independent creation.

The judgment of the layman has at all times regarded only one feature, the reproduction of nature, and allowed this element alone to determine his estimate of the value of a work of art. The other element, the necessary deviation from nature by the introduction of style, was looked upon by the layman as a matter of course, to which he did not give a second thought. At the same time, he felt offended, without knowing exactly why, whenever this element was absent or too weak, as in the days of the domination of so-called realism. Then complaints were heard about the decline of art, and the old masters were lauded to the skies. Tendencies were thus developed which marked a return to the old su-

premacv of style, and such changes are evident not alone in the history of the plastic and graphic arts.

Greek art, in its highest development, possesses a singularly happy mixture of the most vivid fidelity to nature and effective employment of style. Where has human flesh, the entire structure of the human body, been represented more correctly, more vividly, or more faithfully than in the original plastic works of the Greek classical period? And where else do we find allied to this highest reproduction of nature so much style, where else has the obstacle of mere model-like imitation been so thoroughly avoided, where else do we meet with this transformation of nature in favor of monumental plastic effect? In these respects the art of the Renaissance and the more modern and contemporary art cannot be compared. Modern art clings absolutely to the model, rising above mere imitation only by a return to primitive forms devoid of life and nature.

I remember noticing in a small museum in the southern part of France, in Aix, I believe, a nude female figure—an entirely new marble statue presented by the government—in the same room with plaster-casts from the antique. The cast of Venus de Medici stood near the new figure, both were in the same field of vision. The contrast was terrible. The modern statue, in its way, was a superior work; it reproduced the model in every detail, even to a bust that showed the effect of wearing corsets. The layman without artistic training and virtually unacquainted with the nude in nature, will receive an objective impression of the statue as a naturalistic representation of the nude; but this is not an æsthetic impression. The trained eye of the artist, however, turns in relief from the modern figure to the antique, which, to be sure, is less suggestive of a fellow-being who has divested herself of her garments, but which inspires him with a full, deep sense of true humanity. And this sublime æsthetic effect is the result of style successfully combined with fidelity to nature.

In the reproduction of the drapery, where it is self-evident that mere imitation of nature does not suffice to procure a monumental plastic effect, style must be introduced. The antique always made use of style in the representation of drapery, and yet in no other

art do we find such a faithful reproduction of the nature of the materials, and of their freedom of motion. I have only to refer to the torsos from the Parthenon to prove the truth of this statement; the drapery is far removed from mere copy of nature, and yet the effect is strikingly natural. If we examine the representation of the head and its parts, especially the eyes and the hair, the absolute superiority of Greek sculpture will become even more evident. It is not a simple matter to explain this superiority in so many words, but it can easily be demonstrated with the help of the original. Considerable style has been employed in the treatment of the eye, and as a result of the deviation from nature a multitude of varying expressions full of depth and truth has been secured. Even in the finest examples of sculpture from the period of the Renaissance the eyes appear hard, dry, and expressionless beside the Greek originals of the classical period, the Renaissance having followed nature more closely.

Untrammelled by imitation of different models and always in conjunction with the forms of nature, Greek sculpture has given in a very extended series of ideal heads a complete characterization of human nature. These fixed ideal types offer a wealth of delicately graded plastic forms, and I need only suggest the wise and amiable Hermes, the pure, majestic and enthusiastic Apollo, the gloomy Ares, the honest Hephaistos, the clear and wise Athena, the amorous Aphrodite, the pure and refreshing huntress Artemis, the sorrowful Demeter—the whole Olympian circle down to the lowest and coarsest demons.

Greek portraiture may claim supremacy over the work of other peoples because, again, it omits the details of the model, reproduces nature for the purpose of gaining an artistic effect and without sacrificing any essential element of nature. Only within recent times have we begun to appreciate the full significance of the Greek portrait-heads. They have been widely scattered and often shamefully mistreated, disfigured by poor restoration and banished into dark corners. An intimate acquaintance with them is still limited to a very small set of specialists. Until recent times the archæologists have been interested only in iconography; that is, the study of portraits to which some famous name has been

ascribed. These Greek portraits have, so far, been little appreciated purely and simply as works of art, and they deserved to be. The same difficulties are encountered here which confronted us in the contemplation of the ideal creations of Greek plastics, the portraits have been preserved only in later and frequently remodeled copies, and these copies themselves are fragmentary or poorly restored and even more poorly reconstructed. It requires a certain amount of energy and interest to overcome these obstacles, but the reward is more than ample. It is interesting to note how long Greek art refrained from expressing the characteristic individuality of the human being. Even the epoch of Phidias produced no real portrait. About 400 B.C., however, we find a sudden change of purpose. The splendid likeness of Euripides, which has been preserved in several replicas, is only one of a glorious series, leading up to the characteristic heads of Socrates, of Plato and of untold others, who appear to us as living personages, although their identity may never have been revealed.

In order to arrive at a proper conception of the formative power of Greek plastic art and its supremacy over all other periods, we have but to examine Greek coins, of which there are a considerable number in the original. The wealth of ideal heads on the Greek coins of the classical period is well-nigh inexhaustible. Even the connoisseur is repeatedly astonished at the wonderful formative power of the Greek genius. The idealized heads were succeeded in the epoch after Alexander by the series of no less remarkable portrait-heads. The coins of other periods, constrained, austere and sterile, present an impoverished spectacle beside these; and this rich field has hitherto been a sealed book to all but a few. The coins generally are well preserved in private cabinets, and consequently they are inaccessible to the people. Very often, too, the owners possess little sense of the artistic and æsthetic value of their treasures; they are interested chiefly in the historical element and the numismatic value, and prefer an inartistic but scarce coin to the most finished but less rare product of the artist's skill. A similar complaint can be lodged in all other fields of antique art. The majority of investigators and publishers are interested only in what is valuable from an histor-

ical, a mythological, or an antiquarian point of view. These latter phases are usually widely known and the field is well covered, and scientific societies expend large sums of money for the publication of such material. On the other hand, the masterpieces of the principal Greek artists, as far as they have been preserved, are in many cases not recognized or noticed even at the present day, and are relegated to the corners of museums.

There is yet another class of little works of art which deserves more than passing notice—the gems or cut precious stones. Whoever has made a study of this attractive field, unfortunately also quite difficult of access, knows that here the greatness of Greek art is shown in all its splendor. There are no difficulties in the way of instituting a direct comparison in this particular field with the art of the Renaissance, for numerous Renaissance artists of the first rank have attempted to rival the creations of the antique, but they have fallen far short of the mark, as all connoisseurs know: even their best productions cannot compare in artistic merit with the Greek gems. Considerable experience and close study are required, however, to become an accurate judge in this field. We are fortunate in possessing at least a few examples from the great classical period. The fine gems of the Augustinian period are vastly superior to the productions of the Renaissance. The Hermitage in St. Petersburg and the British Museum in London contain excellent specimens of these gems, but many of the best are contained in private collections. In my work on antique gems I have included a selection of the best specimens in existence.

Thus we see that in whichever direction we turn the supremacy of Greek art immediately becomes apparent, and yet our current historical art literature by no means presents this fact clearly. The subject, to be sure, receives respectful treatment, but it is brief and comparatively superficial. On the other hand, the art of the late Roman and Byzantine periods and of the epoch of the early Middle Ages, so barren from an artistic standpoint, receives full treatment, with copious references to the new spirit of Christianity and of the Germanic peoples, so that the reader is led to believe that the art of these periods compares favorably with that of the Greeks. To be sure, science must *investigate* all relics of

the past indiscriminately, yet it cannot defer judgment, and must decide what is really good and what is insignificant. It is deplorable that there are critics who feel that all past epochs should be judged alike. They fail to separate the precious from the common stones, and Greek art, as far as they are concerned, might just as well never have existed.

It is a source of considerable gratification, however, to observe that the proper appreciation of Greek art is continually on the increase. We are only at the beginning of the way. We have an immense field before us, over which new discoveries are hovering.

The second half of the nineteenth century introduced a sort of birth of the Renaissance. The early period of the Renaissance especially was opened up anew, recognized once more, and duly appreciated for its precious, sound productions. However, in our own day the horizon is widening and the scope is deepening. We are beginning to direct our attention to the antique, which we thought we understood, whereas its true characteristics are only beginning to dawn upon our groping and astonished consciousness. Unless I gravely misinterpret the signs of the time, we are approaching in the twentieth century a period of new and supreme appreciation of the antique. And this new epoch, based upon thorough acquaintance, will rescue our own plastic art from the danger of academic imitation similar to that which followed in the wake of Winckelmann. An increasing understanding of the beauties of Greek art can but result in deliverance from imitation and other fetters; it cannot fail to inculcate a love for sound and true principles; it will be called upon—to single out but one field—to open the eyes of wider circles to the dreary and irreconcilable barbarism in the plastics of our common monuments. In alliance with all those elements which in the new century are combining to improve modern civilization, the growing acquaintance with Greek art will surely contribute its full share to the new development; it ~~will aid in recognizing~~ and removing absurdities and in establishing a new, healthy, characteristic culture.

BUSINESS METHODS IN CHINA

JEREMIAH W. JENKS

THE close of the Russo-Japanese war before either of the contesting powers has been exhausted, either financially or as a fighting force, makes especially interesting and important the discussion of economic and political conditions throughout that entire region. With the exception of Japan and Russia no other country has had so great and immediate an interest in the outcome of the war as has China. Indeed, it is scarcely too much to say that the war has apparently been fought as much in the interest of China as in that of Japan. Had China been able to undertake the task, there seems little doubt that she would have been Russia's chief antagonist.

Since the terms of peace restore to China the use of Manchuria, though doubtless to some degree under the actual tutelage of Japan, and possibly, in part, of Russia, there seems little doubt that a rapid and great economic development of China will begin. The Japanese will exercise their influence, which, under those conditions, will be very great, toward inciting the Chinese to put forth their utmost energy. Of still greater importance, perhaps, is the feeling among the Chinese that they must strengthen themselves on both the military and economic sides, if they are to hold their own against the aggressive inclinations of the foreigners. With this desire for development and with the foreigners eager to advance capital on reasonable conditions, we may confidently anticipate a forward movement. The only drawback, although that, to be sure, is a great one, is the suspicion (which from their past experience is certainly well grounded) that the Chinese have of the motives of the foreigners, and their consequent hesitation to give them a sufficiently free hand in the management of their enterprises to insure success. It is, however, not rash to assume that under the skilful and interested pilotage of the Japanese, means will be found to secure the use of the needed capital under terms that are safe and sufficiently favorable to the foreigners who control it. Under such circumstances, it is a matter of interest and

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importance to note the present business conditions in China, the methods employed in the conduct of business, and something of the apparent outlook for the near future.

FOREIGN BUSINESS MEN

Although foreigners have had dealings with the Chinese for centuries, and although for several decades their business interests have been very large and rapidly increasing, the foreigners still, speaking generally, do not deal directly with their Chinese customers. Their methods of doing business are so different from those followed by the Chinese among themselves that it will contribute to a clear understanding of the situation if in our discussions we keep clearly in mind that we consider the question from the viewpoint of the foreign investor. We shall need to consider what use can be made by the foreign capitalist of the Chinese and of Chinese methods as well as what use China can to advantage make of the foreigner.

Speaking generally, the foreign business men in China are either bankers or import and export wholesale merchants. There are a few retail dealers who cater particularly to the foreign trade; a very few who are interested in manufacturing; a few, and their number is not increasing so rapidly as was expected, who, having received concessions from the Chinese government for the building of railways or the development of mines, are engaged in those enterprises, although with far less energy and eagerness than was anticipated by the Chinese when the concessions were granted. In these enterprises the entire labor is Chinese excepting the superintendents. Besides these, there are a few connected more or less directly with missionary work, who may be said to conduct business, and some others, superintendents or managers of different kinds, in the employ of the Chinese government.

Most conspicuous of all foreign business men are the bankers, especially the English, represented by the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, and the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China. Both the well-managed Yokohama Specie Bank and the enterprising political agent of the Russian Department of Finance, the Russo-Chinese Bank, have doubtless of late years cut

deeply into the business of their older English competitors, while the French Bank of Indo-China and the German Asiatic Bank, together with the International Banking Company of the United States, are each pushing eagerly for its share. When we speak of the currency system in China and the conditions affecting exchange, it will be seen how natural it is that the most conspicuous and important business of these banks should be the exchange business, and how, through the need for experts with powerful connections throughout the business world, these banks have made very large profits for themselves, while at the same time they have been an absolute necessity for the development of foreign trade. As might be expected also, these banks have acted in many instances as financial agents in the promotion and development of railroad and other business enterprises in China, and as negotiators of important foreign loans for the Chinese government itself.

ATTITUDE OF CHINESE GOVERNMENT

It seems curious to the stranger, but it is eminently characteristic of the Chinese, that they should have permitted these powerful financial institutions, admirably managed as they are, to grow up and flourish on Chinese soil with no attempt at governmental regulation or control, leaving them free from taxation, apparently secure in their privileges of dealing unrestrictedly in moneys of all kinds, in the issue of banknotes of various types, and with absolute discretion regarding the attitude which they might assume toward even money and securities issued by the Chinese government itself, central or provincial. So powerful have they become through this freedom of action, both in their own strength and in the support of their home countries, that the Chinese government now questions whether it can in its own territory impose any regulations upon these banks even though such regulations might seem a necessity for the successful introduction and management of a uniform national Chinese currency.

The large importing and exporting houses also, while somewhat less conspicuous than the banks, and probably less influential in their dealings with the Chinese government and people, although often hampered by government restrictions, have never-

theless been most powerful factors in introducing into China the foreign goods and methods which have tended in so many instances to make the living of the Chinese more comfortable than in the past and in sending into foreign countries the teas and the silks by which China is best known, as well as the multitude of articles of art or industry which of late years have made China most favorably judged by western nations.

THE COMPRADORE.

And yet these bankers and business men, able and powerful as they are, have scarcely come at all into personal touch with the Chinese people and with Chinese business. Every foreign bank and business house deals with the Chinese not directly, but through its compradore or native manager. Some small foreign dealers in curios, some enterprising collectors of Chinese porcelain, or embroideries or artistic treasures of various sorts attempt to deal directly with the native traders or even at times to travel and buy from original holders some of their treasures, but such persons are scarcely to be counted as foreign business men in the ordinary acceptance of that term. It is the compradore who, through his agents and through other native dealers with whom he trades, gathers together from the interior districts the goods for export, delivering them to the foreign merchant for shipment at the prices agreed upon and taking his pay in commissions or profits paid by the native producers or dealers; and it is through the compradore that the importer in the same way distributes his goods throughout the interior, taking no trouble himself regarding the details of the distribution and rarely, if ever, coming into contact with the people who become the consumers of his goods. Likewise the banker, in his dealings with the native banks or native business men, trusts his compradore, and his compradore, well bonded or guaranteed, or sometimes even trusted without bond or guaranty, but almost without exception faithful to his trust, does a successful business for the foreigner while accumulating wealth for himself. The foreigner sees to his shipments, to his purchases abroad, to his sales abroad, to his exchanges; the compradore deals with the natives.

EXCHANGE CONDITIONS

(a) *A Silver Standard*.—Persons who are accustomed to countries with uniform monetary systems, and especially those accustomed to dealing only with gold-standard countries, can have no conception of the complexity of business in a country like China, where the merchants dealing with gold countries have not merely the troubles arising from dealing with the Chinese on a silver basis, but in addition to that the difficulties arising from no uniformity in moneys and often from dealings with pieces of silver valued only by weight and fineness. A merchant in Shanghai, knowing the condition of the London market, when a pound sterling is worth say eight taels, may agree to deliver goods at a certain price in taels. When the goods arrive in China several weeks later and are delivered, the price of silver may have so fallen that the eight taels on which he had based his selling price may have suffered a loss of 10 per cent., and be worth only, say, eighteen shillings instead of a pound. His expected profit may thus, through no carelessness or fault of his own, be changed to a loss; or, on the other hand, a corresponding increase in the price of silver may have brought him an unexpected, though doubtless welcome, profit. The conditions governing the value of silver in the world's market (and the price of silver in the treaty ports of China is, of course, fixed largely on its value in London) are so many and variable and so dependent upon factors that are so obscure and remote from the experience of the business men in China, that it is a practical impossibility for them to predict with any degree of certainty what the course of exchange—*i.e.*, the value of an order for gold to be paid for in silver—will be not merely three months hence, but even one day hence. In consequence, all business partakes of the nature of gambling, and many business men have their attention so taken by this gambling part of their business that the real needs and tastes of their customers are much less consulted than would otherwise be the case.

In these conditions the banks usually to a considerable extent relieve the business men of their risks if they so desire. The bank is not merely a buyer of exchange, but it is likewise a seller. If it agrees with one man to sell him exchange on London at a

certain fixed price on a fixed date, it may likewise, on that same date, agree to buy from another man an equal amount of exchange at a corresponding price, so that if a loss is made on the one exchange, a corresponding gain will be made on the other, and the bank is thus insured against loss, while, having taken its commission both ways, it is sure of its normal profit. The banks thus regularly for many of their customers sell and buy forward exchange, so that the risks of business are greatly lessened.

(b) *No Standard Silver Unit.*—But the complications arising from a silver standard are but the beginning of difficulties for the compradore and for those who attempt to deal, however slightly, in China itself. In Shanghai, for example, the regular unit of exchange in native dealings is the Shanghai tael; but the money generally used at that port by the foreigners and those most familiar with the foreign dealings is the Mexican dollar. A person bringing a London gold draft and wishing to receive for it Mexican dollars, will find that the bank calculates its value first in taels and then the value of the taels in dollars. The value of the tael fluctuates with the price of silver, and the value of the dollar, although that is on the silver standard, does not necessarily fluctuate in unison with that of the tael; for the dollar is subject to its own special demand and supply which may lead its coin value to differ by several hundredths from its bullion value, even in that silver standard country. If the bank's customer for his own convenience takes, instead of his dollars, the notes of the bank, payable in dollars, but before using them travels to Tientsin or Hongkong, where he presents them to another branch of the same bank, he is likely to have them discounted anywhere from 1 to 5 per cent., for, although the bank gets the benefit of a unified management and of harmonious working among its different branches, it secures likewise the benefit of having its different branches managed as independent institutions in getting the profits of exchange.

More difficult still is extended trade in different places. While the Mexican dollar is the standard shopping unit in Shanghai, in Canton the Hongkong British dollar or the Chinese Canton dollar circulate, and up the Yangtse river at Nanking one may find a Nanking dollar. Still farther inland some hundreds of miles at

Hankow, one finds the Hupeh dollar, or even the Hupeh provincial government dollar notes; at Tientsin comes the provincial Pei-yang dollar, but at Peking the Hongkong British dollar; while at any of these northern cities a man is likely to have handed him a dollar from Kirin in Manchuria, which, however, if he tries to pass, he will usually have refused or discounted. No two of the different dollars mentioned, and there are others, are looked upon in the different localities with exactly the same degree of favor. Sometimes they will be accepted as interchangeable; sometimes any but the favorite dollar will be discounted more or less or refused in retail trade, while in the wholesale trade or in dealings with banks they are likely to be weighed and received at their bullion value. The Chinese mints have, too, in so many instances, failed to keep up the standard of their coins in both weight and fineness that some of them are discounted on that account. Still more puzzling and curious is the situation at some places up the Yangtse river, when one finds some of the old Spanish Carolus dollars in circulation at a high premium above their bullion value, and even at times in those same localities one or two counterfeits of the Carolus dollars recognized also in ordinary trade as money, but one of them, passing at a generally recognized discount of 8 to 9 per cent.; the other at a discount of 17 to 20 per cent. of the genuine Carolus dollar.

In trade among the Chinese, especially in the interior, instead of the dollar, the tael is the unit. The tael is, of course, merely a unit of weight and this is sub-divided decimally—10 mace making 1 tael, 10 candareens making 1 mace, and 10 li making 1 candareen. The weight of the tael itself, however, varies materially in different localities. The heaviest tael found in China is the Haikwan or customs tael, which is used in collecting customs duties. One Haikwan tael is worth 111.4 Shanghai taels. The official tael employed by the Board of Revenue in Peking for the payment to it of the taxes collected in the different provinces is the K'up'ing or official tael. Most puzzling, however, is the fact that the K'up'ing tael at Peking differs by a few grains from the K'up'ing or official tael in various provinces, and in practically every instance this official tael differs from the local commercial tael. In

Peking itself, for example, it takes 106 commercial or Kungfa taels to equal in value one K'up'ing. The tael used in Tientsin, 75 or 80 miles away, differs also somewhat from that, and if a traveler goes from Peking to Hankow over the line of the new Belgian railway, he will find at practically every important town a tael still different by from a fraction of from 1 per cent. to the neighborhood of 10 per cent. from the K'up'ing tael. In an article in the Journal of the China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Mr. Morse, the statistician of the Imperial Customs, enumerates seventy-eight different taels with their relative weights and values. It is entirely probable that one could find in China as many as a hundred of these differing units.

(c) *The Copper Unit—the "Cash."*—Although the Chinese among themselves exchange silver by weight, other minor monetary units, the copper cash, are counted as are coins in other countries and not weighed. It should not be imagined, however, from this, that these copper cash are uniform throughout the country or that their value is entirely independent of their weight or quality. They have been coined at various times by different emperors or provincial governors, and in innumerable instances by private individuals for speculative purposes. Although it is generally recognized that many of them are of private manufacture, they are hardly looked upon as are counterfeits in other countries, but are accepted at some valuation and passed by private individuals, cash shops and banks, and even by government officials in the receipt of taxes. Of course, when private individuals undertake the coinage of copper cash for money-making purposes they naturally use cheap materials, until at the present time in many instances the cash is made at least half of zinc, with sometimes an admixture of iron and other metals.

Inasmuch as they are each of so small value, say 1-15 to 1-20 of an American cent, it is inconvenient to handle them separately, and in consequence they are strung on strings, usually about 500 in a string. The unit by which they pass in larger transactions is the tiao, nominally a thousand, but a nominal thousand is practically never an actual thousand. The labor of stringing and the cost of the string are to be considered, so that usually from two to

half a dozen cash are deducted for the string. In certain localities also the cash are recognized as of better quality and weight than in other cases, so that in some places one counts for two, and there 500, with the usual deduction for the string, is reckoned as a thousand. In Peking, where some decades ago ten cash pieces were introduced by the Emperor and then over-issued until they depreciated to a value of about two real cash, each one, in the larger transactions, is, most peculiarly, counted for 20, so that 50 actual pieces would be counted a tiao, although in smaller transactions of, say, from 3 to 8 cash, each piece would be counted as two real cash. In certain localities also the proportion of small or poor counterfeits is so great that the value of a string of cash is less than in other places.

The result of all of this confusion regarding the copper cash makes the doing of business on a small scale where the cash only are used for money about as complicated as doing business on a larger scale with the numerous varying taels. There seems to be, to be sure, a kind of abstract standard in what is called the real cash, but no one knows exactly what this real cash is, inasmuch as each cash-shop-keeper is likely to have his own personal estimate as to the relative value of the small poor cash which he finds on the strings handed in for exchange when one is buying silver.

On the whole, however, it is probably right to say that the monetary standard, so far as there is any at all in China, when one speaks of trade among the native Chinese in the interior, is rather a copper than a silver standard; and the fluctuating value of this copper standard, as compared with gold, can be reckoned almost as easily and as accurately as can the fluctuating value of the silver tael as compared with gold. It is well known that in the commercial world copper, although it has, on the whole, fallen somewhat in value during the last twenty years, has nevertheless fallen much less than has silver. A special committee of the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce appointed some two or three years ago to study this subject reported that, as compared with gold, silver, between the years 1882 and 1902, had depreciated 49.7 per cent, while copper cash had depreciated only 26.6 per cent. The last trade report of the Inspector-General of Customs

puts the matter in another way by saying that in the course of the last thirty-five years silver has lost over 30 per cent. of its copper exchange value.

The above all too inadequate account of the monetary complications may still show, however, how extremely necessary it is for a foreigner to do his business through a Chinese compradore who has lived his lifelong in the midst of this bewildering multiplicity of standards, and who, with the Chinese love of detail and of sharp bargaining, doubtless knows to a nicety how many poor and cheap cash he can work off on his customers and how much discount he can make when receiving these cash.

(d) *Official vs. Commercial Rates.*—The story of the complications, however, is not yet quite ended. The varieties of fluctuations and variations mentioned above are all of them connected with either the weight or the quality of the silver and copper used, with, to be sure, more or less account to be taken of the individual idiosyncrasies of native bankers and merchants. We have still to reckon with the arbitrary exactions of the official tax collectors in securing their own pay for their work as officials. The salaries of most officials were fixed in terms of taels many generations ago. At one time these salaries were perhaps reasonably adequate, but with the falling value of silver and the increased cost of living these salaries have in many cases become ridiculously inadequate. The Chinese official, however, is a practical man; his constituents, who do not choose him of course, are also practical; and they recognize that he will, by some device, increase his income. This has been very generally done by increasing the number of cash that the taxpayer must yield up for every tael of taxes assessed. For example, in the province of Honan, in the interior of China, the commercial value of the tael usually runs from about 1025 to 1040 cash. When the local magistrate collects his taxes, however, he, as a rule, compels the taxpayer for every tael of taxes assessed to pay him from 2400 to 2600 cash. Of these, he remits, say, from ten to twelve hundred to the provincial treasurer in payment of the taels which he owes to the treasury, and he keeps the rest for "local expenses"—i.e., his private pocket—or he may simply go to the local Chinese dealers and with his copper

cash buy silver at the market rate, and remit the amount of silver required to the treasurer, keeping the remainder. These exactions are well understood and ordinarily no objection is made. If, however, instead of, say, 2400 cash, which his predecessors have usually taken, the magistrate should demand, say, 3000, the demand would be likely to create so great a disturbance in the form even of riots or attacks upon the magistrate's "Yamen-runners" or petty tax collectors, that word of the disturbance would reach the Governor or even the Imperial authorities at Peking, and the magistrate might be summarily removed for his failure to keep the peace. On the other hand, if, through an excess of zeal or rare tenderness of conscience or kindness of heart he should ask, say, only 1800 cash, as actually happened some three or four years ago in one of the local districts of Honan, he would naturally so arouse the hostility of his fellow magistrates that within a comparatively short time word would reach the higher authorities that he was incompetent or unjust, and he would be removed. In the instance referred to above the removal took place rather promptly, to the great sorrow of the taxpayers who waited upon their popular retiring magistrate in processions with many complimentary red umbrellas; but the love of his people was not sufficient to retain him.

Not merely in the collection of taxes, but also in the payment of bills and in other official dealings, the magistrate takes advantage of the varying values of the different taels, cash, etc. For example, the K'up'ing tael is heavier than the Ts'aop'ing by about 2 per cent. The Ts'aop'ing is some 2 per cent. heavier than the Siangp'ing, and any of them, of course, are much heavier than a Mexican dollar. It is a common saying in Nanking among students who receive prizes that "the prizes are awarded in K'up'ing, the examining official pays them in Ts'aop'ing, the minor officials distribute them in Siangp'ing, and by the time it reaches the student the tael has become a Mexican dollar, which, on being exchanged, is found to be bad."

THE LIKIN AND OTHER TOLLS.

Much emphasis has been laid upon the complications of the monetary system because no other single element so impresses

the foreigner who attempts to engage in business in China; but even if he, with the aid of his compradore, has succeeded in so manipulating these complicated factors that he gains rather than loses, his troubles are yet by no means ended. Before the importer can deliver his goods to the consumer in the interior, he has to pay not merely the import duties, an experience which he would have in most countries, but he has to pay also an incalculable number of interior transit or boundary duties to local officials or else pay an increased customs rate in order to be free from these other exactions. The goods are very generally transported into the interior by boat, and it used to be the custom for the various provincial authorities to stop the boats at the boundaries of provinces and districts and collect from them a local duty, the *likin*. These troublesome taxes, which could not be calculated definitely beforehand by any importer, led to many complaints and finally to an arrangement with the central government by which in lieu of these interior duties one-half was to be added to the customs rate, which is 5 per cent. A transit pass was then received which was to free the goods from all further exactions. Usually, of course, this provision has had the required result, but there are still misunderstandings as to the interpretation of the treaty, and new exactions in various forms are frequently imposed. For example, the foreigners insist that by the payment of this surtax their goods are to be free from charge until they are practically in the hands of the consumer. The native officials, on the other hand, claim at times that as soon as the regular transit of goods is stopped in their delivery to the consignee in the interior, the validity of the transit pass ends and the goods may be subjected to still further taxation in the form of license duty or other charge before they are placed in the hands of the consumer. Moreover, many of the cities levy an *octroi* tax before the goods can be brought through the city gates for consumption by the inhabitants of the city. Even within the last few months our consul from Hangchau has reported new difficulties arising in his province from local charges which are in the nature of transit duties. In the new treaties made with England, the United States, and Japan, if they shall eventually go into effect, provision is made for a

surtax on imports of $1\frac{1}{2}$ the customs, that is, $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in all, including the customs; and a surtax of $\frac{1}{2}$ the customs on exports, with a maximum total of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which surtax is to take the place of all interior charges.

The government seems to be seriously taking this matter up in order to provide sufficient revenue from other sources, so that it is to be hoped that whenever these treaties go into effect this form of a restriction upon trade may be practically done away with.

THE AWAKENING OF THE COMMERCIAL SPIRIT

A chief drawback to trade with China from the beginning has been the supercilious pride of the literary class, from whom the officials are recruited. Trade has been looked upon as a contemptible calling beneath the dignity of one whose mental and moral nature has been uplifted and trained by the study of the ancient classics. In consequence, methods for the development of trade have neither been understood nor even seriously considered. Traders, and especially foreign traders, have been rather objects for plunder than for encouragement. The sad experiences of the Chinese, however, in armed conflict with the foreigners, has shown them that however superior they may consider themselves mentally and morally, they are decidedly inferior in physical attack and defence. This was probably never fully appreciated by the officials, excepting here and there by a few, until the China-Japan war. At that time the means of intelligence through the telegraph, boats, mail, etc., had become complete enough so that the officials, practically all of them, understood that China is weak in power of resistance, although, of course, scores of millions of the common people have as yet either never heard of the China-Japan war, or still believe that their country was victorious.

The later seizure of Kiao-chau by the Germans, the subsequent forced leasing of Port Arthur and contiguous territory, the occupation of Manchuria by the Russians, of Kwang-chau-wan by the French, and of Wei-hai-wei and Kow-loon by the English, showed that the Chinese realized their relative military weakness and the necessity of strengthening their hands if they wished to resist foreign aggressions. Some of the concessions

mentioned were probably made in order to array the foreigners one against the other in the hope of protection of the Chinese, but all of them are evidences of the consciousness of weakness on the part of the Chinese authorities.

This consciousness on their part has, beyond any question, led them to realize that if they are to maintain the integrity of their territory and the independence of their government, they must adopt much of the western learning with the accompanying scientific and mechanical devices which give to the foreigners their overwhelming strength in war. They realize also that with this war-like strength of armament must be combined greater financial strength, and that whether the Chinese need greater wealth for their own happiness and development or not, they must employ modern western inventions, better methods of communication, improved methods of agriculture, etc., if they are to have the financial strength which will enable them to cope with the foreigners. Of course, the Chinese who have been trained abroad look at commerce largely from the foreign standpoint. Out of these motives chiefly have come their new treaties and the present doubtless sincere, although often ill-directed, movements toward the development of railways, mines, and the establishment of foreign manufacturing plants of various kinds.

PROVISIONS FOR COMMERCE

The new commercial treaties with the United States, Great Britain, Japan, and Portugal, with the others which are to be made with the remaining powers, make especial provisions for freeing trade in the interior and the transportation of goods from the coast to the interior from the numberless burdensome restrictions under which it has heretofore suffered. Furthermore, trademarks and patents for the protection of dealers, inventors and other business men have been provided for, although as yet the regulations issued by the Chinese government have not proved quite satisfactory to the representatives of the powers. It is significant, however, that a late consular report states that a patent on an electric lamp called the "bright moon-light" has just been issued to an inhabitant of Nanking, the old capital of

the Chinese Empire. This is the first patent issued in China, and the inventor asserts that his invention is "far superior to foreign glow-lights that hitherto have been sold at Shanghai and other Chinese cities." Whatever the excellence of the lamp may be, there can be no doubt that the issuing of the patent is a strong indication of the spirit of progress.

Including the railways in Manchuria, there are already in actual operation in China 2235 miles, while others under construction should increase this by 2000 or more miles, and for the building of many others concessions have been granted; so there is reason to believe that within a comparatively short time, say half a dozen years or so, there will be six or eight thousand miles of railroad in operation, connecting the leading cities of the interior with the treaty ports.

With almost equal readiness and interest the Chinese have been opening new gold and coal and iron mines themselves, while they have granted some very valuable concessions to foreigners for the development of similar mines.

An evidence more, perhaps, of the spirit of enterprise in the direction of western occupations and inventions by the Chinese themselves than of their jealousy and suspicion of the foreigners and of foreign influence, and of their determination to hold as fully as possible both power and enterprise in their own hands, is found in the provisions made by the government in the case of all of these concessions that at least half the stock shall be held by the Chinese, that Chinese shall be employed to do the work, and that wherever foreign expert assistance or superintendence is required, there shall be associated with such foreign supervisors also Chinese to directly control the laborers. In certain instances the Chinese have even shown themselves ready to buy back from foreigners concessions already granted, and on which work has already begun. There can be little doubt that the Chinese have sometimes been too eager in this direction for their own good. But there can be no question that it is the present intention of the Chinese to fit themselves as rapidly as possible to do all kinds of engineering and other scientific work, so that eventually they can get along with little or no assistance from the foreigner.

That spirit at the present time even is manifesting itself often in ways that are not especially for the benefit of China. In many instances where they feel that they must have expert assistance, they seem to prefer to accept that of young and relatively inexperienced men whose services, to be sure, they can secure for really trivial salaries, but whom also they doubtless feel they can much more readily control, and from whom they are less likely to incur danger. It is unfortunate for themselves that this feeling of suspicion strengthens the tendency which would naturally be seen in them of saving expense by hiring as cheap aid as possible. Further experience will perhaps lead them to see that cheap assistance called "expert" is likely in the long run to prove the most expensive.

CONDITIONS AFFECTING FOREIGN INVESTORS

Despite the desire of the Chinese to manage their own business enterprises as far as possible, there nevertheless will doubtless be an opportunity for a good many years to come for foreigners to invest capital in China, and the probability is that there will soon be an increased demand for such capital. It is important, therefore, to consider somewhat the opportunities for making a profit out of such investments.

(a) *Rate of Interest*.—In the first place, the Chinese have been accustomed to high rates of profit in many of their investments, 12 per cent. being a not unusual rate of interest on many loans and 20 per cent. being frequently made on investments of various kinds.

(b) *The Labor Force*.—It is questionable whether there can be found among the classes of unskilled labor in any other country where general popular education is not widespread so high a degree of diligence, of thrift, of intelligence, and of knowledge of trading conditions as among the Chinese. It is true that they have no knowledge of the foreign ways of doing things, also that when they have once learned one way of putting work through it is very difficult—at times almost impossible—to get them to change the method. They also have, as a rule, not a good knowledge of machinery or ready adaptability toward taking up and

understanding new machines; but with all that granted, the statement made above still holds good. The spirit of enterprise among them is scarcely equalled elsewhere. Nearly all manual laborers prefer, if it is possible, instead of working by the day, to work by the job in order that by extra diligence, longer hours, and especial care, they may increase their earnings, while giving equal satisfaction to their employers. Most employers of the Chinese find it desirable to make such contracts with them not only in China itself, but likewise in the Straits Settlements, in the Federated Malay States, on the tobacco plantations in Sumatra, and elsewhere. The mines in the Federated Malay States are largely run on the co-operative plan, and on the tobacco plantations in Sumatra the laborer usually takes a certain piece of ground from his employer, cultivates the tobacco plants thereon, and sells them at a price agreed upon beforehand. The larger crop that he can get, the more he makes. And this plan is found with the Chinese especially satisfactory to the employers, even though it is not at all satisfactory in connection with Malay labor.

(c) *Rates of Wages*.—Although they are very thrifty and diligent, the earnings of the laboring Chinese are as a rule low, whether they work for wages or take contracts. An ordinary servant, for work about the house, unskilled, receives ordinarily some four or five dollars a month, he furnishing his own room and board. A person doing the heavier work about buildings, not the carpenters or masons, will expect to receive about the same, out of which he will probably pay, if the employer boards him, as is often the case, some \$1.75 a month for board, leaving him a very low net wage for clothing, support of his family, etc. A carpenter or mason may receive from seven to ten dollars a month. These are wages such as are paid in Peking and other important cities. Naturally in the interior, where the expenses of living are less, and where also the competition of the foreigners with their readiness to pay higher rates of wages is much less, the rates will be considerably lower, often from five to eight cents a day.

Those who engage in cotton manufacture or in silk-winding can secure in their factories labor of girls at very low wages. A considerable part of the silk manufactured for embroidery, either

the plain pongee silk or silk embroidery, is made by hand, and in this case the work is very frequently done by the piece, but at very low prices.

Some idea of the earnings of the more intelligent unskilled Chinese in the interior can be gathered from the earnings of those who, acting as peddlers or dealers on a small scale, carry on their wheelbarrows or on poles across their shoulders, products from their place of manufacture to places a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles away, where the market is better. For example, in the province of Honan wheelbarrow men were found who, with a donkey, would carry on their wheelbarrows some 500 or 600 pounds of pottery, to bring back from the hills powdered wood for making incense sticks. They had bought their load and were expecting to sell again at the end of the journey. Several of these men, when questioned separately at different times, agreed upon the prices and the earnings. With a capital of some \$5 or \$6 they hoped for a profit of 6 or 7 cents a day above expenses. Other men in the north of China, carrying on poles across their shoulders fans and hats which had been made in Mongolia and which they were bringing to the neighborhood of Peking for sale, made about the same. For example, one man whose round trip took him some fifteen days was carrying 700 fans which he bought at the rate of two for five cash and sold for ten cash apiece. He would thus earn for his work of fifteen days, provided he made a prompt sale, 18 to 20 cents a day, out of which he must pay board and lodging. It should be recalled, however, that his lodging would be probably a place to sleep on the floor under a roof, or it would do practically as well in many cases if he slept on the ground under a tree, and his food would consist of rice with a little fish or a bit of fruit, which he might pick by the roadside. A man traveling substantially the same distance with 200 hats, for which he had paid 25 cash each, and which he would sell for 40 cash, would make, it will be seen, considerably less. A contractor on a railroad in Honan paid from 9 to 10 cents in winter to twice that in summer.

The foreign employer of labor in China, therefore, may count upon getting, at low rates, a plentiful supply of labor, reasonably

intelligent, fairly skilful, and beyond any question patient and thrifty.

(d) *Character of Work*.—On the other hand, it should be kept in mind that these men are not skilled in the American sense of the word, and that it is extremely difficult to get those who have the exactness and care of the best American skilled workmen. In the arsenal at Hanyang, a suburb of Hankow, which is under the control of Chang Chih-tung, the Viceroy of the provinces of Hupeh and Honan, the German superintendent said that while his Chinese laborers were diligent and thrifty and very satisfactory in most ways, it should not be forgotten that they needed very careful supervision all of the time simply because they lacked the sense of exactness which characterizes the German or American workmen. If a joint made by a carpenter in house-building is about right, it will do. If the floor is nearly level or the joists are almost perpendicular, so that there is no danger of the building falling, why need one take pains to have it absolutely right in these regards? The same general feeling that anything that is about right will do characterizes the Chinese in very many of their undertakings, and this mental habit applies not merely to the ordinary workmen, and the statesman, but also to business men of the higher classes, except in payments, contracts, etc., in which they are very honorable. This is perhaps the weakest point, from the business point of view, of the Chinese, and one which the prospective investor in China must not overlook.

(e) *Labor Unions*.—It is not to be supposed that by going to China one can avoid the difficulties that arise in Europe and the United States from trade unions. Although the men who engage in labor by the job or those who have an independent business, such as the laundrymen here, the shopkeepers, or owners of independent shops there, seem to work a large part of the night in many instances, practically all of the ordinary trades have their guilds which control the workmen, and to a considerable extent control also the conditions of employment. In Peking, for example, not merely the masons and the carpenters, but also the unskilled laborers who carry mortar or who clear up the yards after the builders and grade and tamp the soil about the foundations,

are likewise organized into guilds, and no one not a member of the guild can be hired to do that work. In not a few instances they so control the labor market that they have a monopoly in certain cities and keep the wages fairly well above the general level of those of others who are not so carefully organized, or who have an over-supply of labor so that the monopolistic feature does not enter. Even strikes are by no means unknown, and in China itself, as well as elsewhere, these guilds, organized co-operatively, are entirely willing to undertake of themselves contracts which they put through faithfully and well. It is safe to say, however, that the employer who gives a contract to a Chinaman for a building, let us say, needs to have on the ground all of the time a conscientious, thorough inspector, who will hold the contractor to his work.

LEGAL STATUS

In the foreign settlements, of course, conditions are quite different from those in the interior. So far it is only in the foreign settlements and in the case of foreign firms that have special concessions for building railways or opening mines, that employers have the right to invest their capital. And in the foreign settlements the principle of extritoriality is strictly applied, so that if a foreigner should inadvertently or otherwise come before the courts, he may know that if he is a defendant, the complaint coming from the Chinese, his case will be tried before the consul of his own country, or the other court established by the laws of his country, and he will be judged by his home law. On the other hand, if he finds it necessary to bring complaint against the Chinese, the case will be tried by a Chinese judge and under Chinese law. It is comparatively seldom, however, that there is any serious difficulty arising from this method of procedure. The foreigner's rights as a rule are reasonably well protected. In fact, there is perhaps good ground for the belief that foreigners are more likely to be shown exceptional favors than are the Chinese themselves.

THE OUTLOOK

It is entirely possible that, now the Russo-Japanese war is ended, the influence of the Japanese will be considerably increased, and that this influence will be used to persuade the Chinese to admit foreign capital somewhat more freely into the interior on terms that will be fair and just to the Chinese, and at the same time fair to the foreigner. Should that be the case, it would doubtless be for the interest of China even more than for the interest of the foreigner, because it is desirable that the industrial development be hastened more rapidly than will be possible without considerable foreign assistance. As has been said before, however, if this should be the result of the war, there is probably ground for believing that in the not distant future, after a decade or two, when the Chinese themselves have acquired more capital, and particularly more knowledge of foreign methods of production and more independence in their ways of dealing, they will buy back many of the privileges which they will have granted, and later conduct their business as the Japanese have done, largely for themselves, and by themselves. Should that be the case, no one can deny that it is their privilege, and no one can find fault so long as their dealings are fair and aboveboard.

Meanwhile, we may feel confident that the industrial development which seems now opening up, whether it be carried on with foreign or with native capital, is a good thing for us. Even though the enterprises should be practically all carried on with Chinese capital, it would make the Chinese better buyers than they are at the present time, and better sellers as well. Whatever the method employed, the trade would be greatly increased to the benefit of the Chinese as well as of the foreigners. The chief thing for us to hope is that the Chinese will go ahead in the wisest way possible into a period of rapid industrial development. If they do the things that are best for themselves, those things will likewise be good for us, and we may thus cordially welcome their advance.

THE NEXT STEP IN LIFE INSURANCE

ERNEST HOWARD

LIFE insurance as we have it to-day in the United States is the growth of little more than fifty years. During this time it has reduced mortality to the terms of an exact science; it has silenced all cavil from the casuists respecting its essential principles; it has convinced the world of its desirability; and it has demonstrated, through a process of struggle and survival, that stability and soundness are only assured by the method of the level premium and fixed reserve. So much has been done through individual initiative and enterprise.

Something more has been achieved through the introduction of state supervision. Most of all the companies have been forced to abandon the appropriation of the entire value of forfeited policies; they have been largely driven out of tontine and similar practices; prevented from indulging in more or less trickery against the insuring public; and put upon a strictly business basis where the present values of outstanding policies are made an exactly calculable sum for liability against which there must always be maintained at least an equal amount of assets—thus making possible the assurance of solvency respecting any and all contracts at any time, regardless of whether the company expands or contracts in volume of business.

Here is, to be sure, great achievement. It may be said to constitute more than half the battle for the establishment of life insurance as a recognized and generally patronized institution. But with all these reforms and all this spreading supervision from the public authority, we are in some most important particulars further away from the desired goal than we were at the beginning. It has been said that life insurance reaches its ideal when it furnishes (1) absolutely perfect protection; (2) at the lowest possible cost. There has undeniably been great progression in the first condition of ideal insurance, and largely through state supervision; but there has been regression in relation to the second condition so sweeping and violent as injuriously to affect the element of safety.

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Whether life insurance is not costing too much, or more than is necessary, is generally put as a question of fact yet to be decided. But there is no question about it. The fact is admitted. State insurance reports abound in references to the inexcusable wastefulness of the business as now conducted, and the extravagant payments made to secure new patronage. Insurance men frequently admit and deplore the same. There is great extravagance in the commissions allowed to agents, which have been known to take all of the first premiums and even bonuses of \$3 to \$5 per \$1,000 of insurance in addition. There is extravagance in home-office expenses, where salaries are commonly paid in utter disregard of the standards prevailing in the business world, and which find their only sufficient explanation in the fact that those who take them have the power and exercise it.

But if any doubt remains concerning this matter of too great cost, it can easily be disposed of by reference to the statistical records of the business. We compare American companies not with foreign, but with themselves, taking at random ten leading level-premium life concerns among the oldest and most representative in the country. Their growth of expense compares as follows with growth of business since 1873:—

Ten Companies	Total Income	Expenses	Percentage of Expenses to Income
1903	\$318,568,165	\$63,580,401	19.9
1883	67,241,281	9,998,531	14.8
1873	60,913,148	7,190,019	11.8

These concerns include the three largest as well as several of the best-known smaller companies. And it should be said that the big companies do not unduly affect the average expense ratio. They may be guilty of setting the pace in the direction of extravagance, but the others have fallen in with it and show as high an expense ratio generally as the big companies.

We have here exhibited a great expansion in the business during the past twenty years, contrasting with static conditions largely prevailing during the ten years following the panic of 1873;

nevertheless, there is a marked relative increase in expenses for both periods. It is evident, therefore, that American companies, even under competitive conditions, can do business at an expense ratio little more than half of that now prevailing. They might not be able to exhibit such growth as at present, but this does not affect their solvency, and the saddling of a double expense ratio upon those who want insurance in order to drag in those who appear indifferent may not easily be defended even from a humanitarian standpoint.

Nor is there any attempt to defend the practice from such a standpoint. It grows out of a striving for mere bigness in entire regard of the personal ambitions and emoluments and financial powers of the managers, and entire disregard of the interests of the policy-holders which they are supposed to be working for. And the insurance-buying public, too often acquiring its notions of the business from the days of assessmentism when it was necessary to draw in a constantly expanding volume of new blood to prevent disastrous rate-advances, is disposed to judge of the soundness and attractiveness of a company as an insuring medium by its bigness and the volume of new business it is writing.

Let us not, however, be too severe on our life-insurance managements. The fault lies rather with the competitive conditions under which they have been compelled to work. When some companies are striking out for new business regardless of cost, the officials of other companies cannot be greatly blamed if they refuse to stand still, even though it might be better for their patrons if they should. It would be asking almost too much of any set of active and capable men that they shall become responsible for slow growth in business when any of their competitors are parading large growth before a public mind possessed of the erroneous belief that this is of itself necessarily proof of greater solvency and strength and advantage to participating policy-holders. What the experience would be of a company which should go so far as to dismiss its agents altogether and advertise the sale of insurance at much lower prices than the other companies, may be an interesting subject for speculation, but under conditions actually existing no company, it would appear, is likely to do this or risk the venture.

Moreover, where extravagance is so recklessly indulged at the sources of insurance income, it cannot but be that it should invade every avenue through which that income afterward flows, and end finally in the speculative employment of funds to the impairment of that perfect degree of protection for the insured which is given as one of the two essentials of ideal insurance. It is the last evil which the astounding Equitable Life Assurance Society disclosures have most drawn attention to; and it is worth remark, in connection with the general denunciation which has fallen upon this practice, that such uses of life-insurance funds have long enjoyed the open advocacy of many of our leading life-company managers. Thus the president of one of the big New York concerns (not the Equitable), in a magazine article some years ago, expressly defended the extension of life insurance from a business of distributing losses to the development of a "capacity of actually making money for its patrons"—turning its managers into the character of those who may and do "control the world of finance and reap the profits which attend the sagacious employment of large capital at propitious junctures."

Here, therefore, is a train of evils having its beginning in reckless expenditure for new business and its ending in the use of extravagantly acquired funds to "control the world of finance" and ally a great trust with the fortunes of stock-jobbers. What is to be done to stop this waste and reverse the tendencies which are now leading us farther and farther away from the goal of ideal life insurance? The suggestions are many. Mutualization for stock companies is one; but the mutual companies are as much at fault generally as the stock companies, and mutualization has proved a practically impossible protection against the creation of an immovable managing autocracy which can do as it pleases and is too often disposed to act for its own instead of the policyholders' interests. Federal supervision is proposed, but where the limitations of state supervision in certain necessary directions are under discussion, it is a suggestion which flies wide of the mark. To restrict by law the size which any one company may attain is another proposal which, if applied, might operate to reduce the extravagant speed of the big companies only, perhaps, to quicken that of the small ones.

Another suggestion is that the insurance companies be restricted in their investments, as savings banks are in the states which give most attention to such institutions. That policy may be desirable to the end of checking such abuses as the Equitable Society disclosures have shown forth, and clipping the wings of this ambition on the part of insurance managers to establish an intolerable mastery of the world of finance. It is worthy of serious consideration. Insurance companies are organizations to collect and distribute, not make, money, and if restriction of investment is destructive of the money-making feature it would merely put an end to an unwarranted perversion of the business; and there would probably be no tears shed among policy-holders who find that the money-making is not always for them, and who doubtless prefer "perfect protection" in the insurance, to the chancing of the funds for profit in freebooting expeditions into the field of speculation.

But here, again, the primary evil of waste in getting new business and high costs of management is left only remotely touched, if at all, and we are very near an exhaustion of the possibilities of state or federal supervision. The state may indeed restrict salaries and commissions, but to enforce the restriction it would have to put its own salaried managers into daily contact with the affairs of the private companies and then might fail in what must be a bungling and costly attempt. The experience met with under the lead of Massachusetts, in a movement for the abolition of rebates, is illuminating in this connection. The effort may have succeeded; no one can be wholly certain on that point; but it compelled the calling in of an eminent statesman or two to act outside of the law as a referee in accusations against insurance agents—amounting to an admission that the state was well-nigh helpless in the enforcement of its anti-rebate laws without the active assistance of the companies. If that assistance was somewhat grudgingly given in many cases for the establishment of equal terms for all insureds of the same class and expectation of life, what would probably be the character of the aid rendered to the state in invading the last remaining prerogatives of a private industry and removing the power to fix commissions and salaries?

It will be found, we think, that the more deeply this matter is considered the more pressingly does the question obtrude, why some one or more of the American states should not go into the business of life insurance on their own account. No one is demanding less state supervision; rather is the call for more, and it is obvious that state supervision cannot be extended sufficiently to overcome the abuses and extravagances of private and competitive life insurance at their source without practically assuming a direct and detailed control of the whole business. Why not, then, state insurance instead? Most of our commonwealths are already deep in the business through the activities of supervision. The state specifies for private companies the mortality table to be used; it can use that table for itself. It names a rate of interest to be assumed in computing premiums and reserves; it can do this for its own as well as the guidance of other companies. It compels the attachment of a reasonable surrender value to lapsed policies and specifies how such value is to be determined; it has something to say, here and there, of how and when the surplus shall be divided;—it can simply take over these standards of general conduct and apply them to an insurance business of its own through the machinery already established for their application to private companies. The state can as well make safe investments as it can prescribe such investments for others. And the state can do some things which it cannot compel private companies to do and permit them to remain such—it can eliminate competition, abolish solicitation through an expensive agency system and so radically reduce insurance charges; or it can establish a business in competition with private companies, and, by applying a moderated system of solicitation by agents or advertising, effect, perhaps, a material cheapening of insurance to those who want it from the state.

Our federal system of government is admirably adapted to the trial of such an innovation. Each commonwealth is evidently free to undertake an experiment either of exclusive state insurance or of insurance in competition with private companies. The federal supreme court (*e.g.*, in *Paul vs. Virginia*, *Liverpool Insurance Company vs. Massachusetts*, etc.,) has repeatedly held that insurance is not commerce of the kind to bring it under the power of Con-

gress when interstate. It comes within the reserved powers of the states, and accordingly nothing seems to stand in the way of a trial even of the more radical plan suggested.

Let us see what could be done under this plan. According to the "actuarial or combined experience" mortality table, and on the assumption of 4 per cent. improvement in early overcharges or reserve funds, the average cost of insurance on an ordinary whole life policy taken at age 30 is about \$17 per \$1,000 of insurance. The premium must be leveled up to that figure to meet the contract on the average life expectation, although the actual costs of the insurance in the early years of the policy are only from about \$8 and upward. This is the net premium free from all loading for expenses; and experience has shown that, under a careful selection of risks, this net premium yields a very considerable surplus on mortality account, and better than 4 per cent. improvement in funds would cause it to yield surplus on that account. As a net premium it is generous and ample—so much so that many of our American companies, through their extravagances, permit expenses to exceed the loading and draw upon the surplus produced by the net premiums to balance the account. And then usually there is surplus still left to be returned to policy-holders.

Such a policy as this now costs the buyer in substantially all of our level premium companies about \$24 a year—representing a loading for expenses of \$7 on \$1,000 of insurance. This is where the charges for insurance are subject to reduction, if anywhere—for even the state as insurer should maintain a net premium ample for all emergencies and more likely to yield a surplus than a deficit.

Suppose, now, that the State of Massachusetts, which has led the country in the regulation of life insurance and establishing its just principles, should undertake to go into the business itself as a monopoly, co-extensive with the state, under the direction of a thoroughly competent insurance bureau already in operation. It will then, let us say, constitute this bureau a home office which will establish branches in every considerable city and town of the commonwealth, all being in charge of officials and clerks among whom such salaries as \$100,000 a year, or \$50,000, or \$25,000, will

never obtain, nor perhaps even \$10,000, as long as the governor of the state is paid no more than \$5,000 and the justices of the supreme court, men of the highest professional training and ability, are paid no more than \$8,000. What life insurance will then be in search of is common honesty, and not brilliancy in leading speculative forays with trust funds or in acquiring business at two or three times what it is worth; and common honesty is not so uncommon as to command such salaries as have been named. If it were, we should have to despair of our civilization.

Through these branches, then, the state will offer for sale insurance in a small variety of desirable forms, including endowment or insurance with a savings bank attachment, at the net level premium dictated by its present or amended laws regarding mortality table and reserve, plus whatever expenses may have to be incurred. As the state holds a substantial monopoly of the business, it can sweep away all the vast expense of present-day life insurance solicitation beyond a trifle expended in calling public attention to the desirability of taking life insurance, the kinds of policies the state has for sale, and where they can be obtained and at what price.

It is possible to arrive at some approximation of what that price would be for such a policy as is chosen for illustration. It has been said that there are two ways of providing an estate for one's surviving family—through accumulation, as by means of a savings bank; and through life insurance, which creates an estate instantly and beyond the preventive power of premature death. Massachusetts has provided means for building up small estates through savings banks which are essentially public institutions, conducted by disinterested trustees and salaried officials responsible to a directing state authority, on the non-competitive principle and with the element of profit excluded. Very similar to this would be the proposed arrangement for bringing the state into the business of providing means for creating estates through insurance.

We now take the four largest of these savings banks and make comparison in certain particulars with four regular life-insurance companies of the state which are among the soundest and most reputable and conservative of old-line concerns in the country.

These two groups of institutions stand close together in the volume of business and magnitude of trust. They show for the year 1903 :

	Aggregate Assets	Total Income	Expenses Exclusive of Taxes	Per Cent. of Expense to Income
4 Life Coms.	\$105,217,962	\$19,845,769	\$3,326,161	16.6
4 Savings Bks.	114,413,722	21,215,452	201,869	00.9

From the expenses of the life companies are excluded, besides taxes and licenses, also medical fees, peculiar to the business, which would pass with it to the state. The total income is made up of returns from investments in both cases; and for the savings banks deposits presented during the year, corresponding to the premium income of the life companies.

These two classes of institutions are very similar in a financial sense. Neither is engaged in money-making beyond the interest improvement in invested funds. Both are engaged in receiving, investing, guarding and distributing or returning money. Both perform the function of conservator of the social economy against the time of need or loss by death. Nevertheless, the remarkable fact appears that the costs of conducting the one class of institution are nearly twenty times greater than those of the other, whether considered in relation to gross income or the assets or trust funds in charge. And it is worthy of further remark that the single expense item of salaries of officers and home office employees of the four life companies for the year in question (\$461,292) is more than double the entire expenses of the four banks. The great salaries common to life-insurance management are usually justified on the ground of guardianship of large bodies of trust funds; but the savings banks in this case have the larger total assets to care for.

No time need be wasted over excuses and explanations which may be offered for this extraordinary difference in the costs of conducting two very similar trust institutions. What part of the difference legitimately or necessarily pertains to life insurance as a private and competitive enterprise will be readily understood; and as readily, also, perhaps, what part has been unnecessarily and un-

warrantably imposed. But life insurance need not remain a private and competitive business, and the way is open for reducing its expenses very close to the savings bank level. For the four life companies under consideration this would admit of a reduction in their aggregate yearly expense of some \$3,000,000. Their aggregate premium income during the year taken for illustration was a little less than \$17,000,000, which might therefore have been reduced to \$14,000,000 to carry the same amount of insurance.

Here, then, is the clear practicability of reducing the charges of insurance by from 16 to 20 per cent., without affecting in the slightest the additions to and divisions from surplus. The gross level-premium charge for an ordinary whole-life policy at age 30 would thus be \$20 per \$1,000 at the most, instead of \$24, and other policies would come in for proportionate reductions. The magnitude of saving on such a scale, when extended over large bodies of policy-holders and for stretches of years, would be incalculable. Moreover, endowment or policies with the savings-bank feature would in this case have a greatly enhanced desirability; for, as it is, such a policy involves the absurdity of turning savings from a bank of low expense ratio to an insurance company with a ratio many times higher.

No vested interest would be invaded or contract obligation impaired by the establishment of such a state monopoly as indicated; no powers would be exercised against existing companies in the field which are not frequently assumed by the state to-day in excluding concerns which have become objectionable for various reasons from doing business in the commonwealth; and a lighter industrial hardship would be inflicted than when the state chartered railroads and forced into other employments men who had depended upon the stage-coach for a living. The state might either take over the business of existing companies within its boundaries, or, if they chose, permit them to live out the slow liquidation of existing contracts as they mature.

But if the abrupt and arbitrary establishment of state monopoly be deemed too inexpedient and inconsiderate, as it probably would be, the method adopted in New Zealand could be followed—the state offering insurance in open competition with private

companies. This course might compel a certain measure of agency expense and prevent so large a reduction in premium charges as would otherwise be possible; but it ought to be—undoubtedly would prove to be—that the state could draw to its insurance department a large and increasing share of the total business by the mere attractive force of low premiums and public guaranty of perfect protection, without resort to agents or to advertising, beyond keeping people reminded that it is in the business, of what it has to sell, and of the advantages of its insurance over that of private companies. And thus gradually the state might come to possess the whole field.

It is often urged that life insurance cannot be sold in this way; that the personal solicitation of a persuasive agent is essential. This is a poor compliment to private life insurance in its educational claims and aspects. If the public is still so far unimpressed with the desirability of such protection, it might about as well be abandoned altogether. That men do not run about seeking to be insured, proves nothing as to their indifference when it is known that a hundred insuring companies are out after them. It might as well be asserted that a man is indifferent regarding the next day's dinner for the family because, with a dozen market-men at the door, he is not seen with a basket going to the market-place. Let the state, however, proclaim to citizens their duties in this particular, and offer insurance without a vestige of self-interest in the matter;—the situation might change. Insurance, instead of hunting the man, might be hunted.

If there ever can exist good and sufficient reason for extending the functions of the state from the limitations of mere police duty into the field of socializing industrial or economic action, here we have it, above almost any other which can be thought of. Life insurance, properly, is no more than a scheme of providing indemnification for losses occasioned by death, and distributing the burden thereof in easily bearable allotment. Its mission among men is to associate them to deal as well as may be with a common risk and common danger; and in a cause so common mutuality naturally enters as the governing principle and as broadly as the whole community. All are insurers; all are insured, and upon all rests the

net burden of loss, and there is never any general net advantage of profit. Accordingly, the element of private profit can find no proper lodgment here, and with it should vanish the force of competition. Here, if anywhere, should individual effort merge into the common action of all through the constituted authority of all. Here, if anywhere, should such a dreadful term as "socialism" lose its obstructive force; for here we are dealing with an intensely practical, pocket question which is apt to insist upon a considerable disregard of the commands or the epithets of any general theory of social or political action.

THE MYTHOLOGIES OF THE INDIANS

FRANZ BOAS

THE fundamental traits of the mythologies of various tribal groups of North America were described in a previous essay. They were found to differ in type, and to be expressions of different philosophical concepts. In one region we found disconnected, fragmentary accounts of the origin of the present state of things, while in other districts the myths formed one connected historical and philosophical cycle. Before attempting an investigation of the psychological significance of Indian mythologies, we must discuss their historical development.

Generally these two questions are considered one and the same. The psychological and more or less rationalistic explanation of the myth is believed to be also the history of its origin. If the Corn in many mythologies is considered the offspring of a deity personifying Mother Earth, this interpretation is assumed to express the historical origin of the legend. It will be recognized at once that this is not a necessary inference; it might happen as well that a story of different origin would be associated with natural phenomena of special importance to man, and that—to use our literary terminology—the purely anecdotal myth would become secondarily an allegory.

The question is evidently one difficult to decide, because we are unfamiliar with the actual history of Indian mythologies. We know only their present status, not their earlier forms and interpretations. Any observation of the origin of a new myth is therefore of the greatest value for our study, and deserves the most careful attention.

Perhaps the best cases of this kind are the mythification of historical events, examples of which are not unknown, and which illustrate the process of development of a new legend. On account of the importance of these observations we may be allowed to give an example of this kind in some detail.

In 1781 the Siberian Trading Company was formed in Russia and took possession of Kadiak, laying the foundation of the

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Russian colonies on the continent of America. In 1790 Alexander Baranoff was appointed manager of the company, and through his energy Russian influence spread rapidly along the coast of Alaska.

Baranoff made a treaty in 1799 with the Sitka Indians, a tribe of southern Alaska, and was permitted to establish a factory in their territory. He selected Sitka for the site of this station, and proceeded at once to erect a stockade for the protection of the buildings. When all was completed, he invited the Tlingit to attend the dedication of the factory, which was to be called Fort Michael. They, however, had become afraid of the Russians, and wished they had not permitted the establishment of the fort; therefore they considered the invitation an insult, and mocked and derided the messenger. Baranoff at once gathered a few soldiers and entered the village, in which about three hundred warriors were assembled, to demand satisfaction. The Sitka were so much impressed by his courage that they did not make any attempt to thwart the undertakings of the Russians while Baranoff was present. They seemed to be once more peaceful and content.

In 1801, after the station was organized, Baranoff returned to Kadiak, leaving a small garrison at the fort, with Medwiednikoff in command. For a short time the natives seemed to be on the best of terms with the Russians; but one day, when the greater part of the Russians were hunting sea-otters, about six hundred Tlingit made an attack upon the fort. The Russians, who numbered about fifteen, defended the fort to the last; but, when the Indians succeeded in setting fire to the stockade, they were compelled to surrender. All were brutally massacred. The struggle lasted only a few hours. The Russian and Aleutian hunters, when they heard of what was going on, hastened back, but they were too late: the fort had been taken, and they were killed one by one, as they arrived. About twenty Russians, Medwiednikoff among them, and a hundred and thirty Aleutians, were killed in this struggle; three thousand sea-otter skins were seized by the Indians, and a vessel belonging to the station was burned.

When Baranoff heard of these events, he prepared an expedi-

tion against the Sitka, and in the spring of 1804 he left Kadiak. In September he arrived at Sitka, where the Indians had erected a strong stockade at the mouth of what is now called Indian River. Baranoff landed, and, meeting no resistance, occupied a hill which he named New Arkhangelsk. The Sitka first offered to make peace and to give hostage; but, as they were unwilling to allow the establishment of a fort on the hill which the Russians had occupied, Baranoff attacked their stockade, which, after a long and severe struggle in which Baranoff himself was wounded, was vacated by the Tlingit, who made their escape during the night unnoticed.

These are the historical facts which form the basis of an Indian Odyssey relating to the adventures of Nanak, as Baranoff is called by the natives. Here is their tale:

"A long time ago Nanak came into our country, accompanied by many Aleuts, who were his slaves. They landed at Sitka, and he ordered the Aleuts to build a fort. They made a stockade which surrounded their houses. When all was completed, Nanak went home again, leaving his son in command of the fort. The latter had his wife with him, who wore a beautiful dress. After a while our grandfathers got angry with Nanak's son and with the Aleuts. They seized one of the latter, painted his face, and sent him back to the young commander, thus mocking him. When Nanak's son saw what our grandfathers had done to his slave, he became very angry. He gathered his slaves around him, and they all went to fight against our grandfathers. These put on their armor, took their bows and arrows, their lances and daggers, and a severe battle ensued. It did not last long, for our grandfathers killed many Aleuts, and those who were not killed were made slaves. Then they set fire to some shavings which they had heaped around the stockade, and soon the fort was all ablaze. Nanak's son and his wife were almost the sole survivors. Our grandfathers had spared them. He felt downcast, and, holding his wife in his arms, slowly went around the burning town. When he saw the houses transformed into ashes, his heart was full of despair, and he flung himself and his wife into the flames. Thus they perished.

"Then our grandfathers asked the Aleuts, 'Where do the Russians build their forts?' They answered, 'They build their forts wherever they find a good landing.' Upon hearing this, our people went to the landing at Sitka and built a stockade. After a few months Nanak arrived, and on hearing what had happened, he made an attack upon our stockade, but he was defeated.

"Then he gathered all the young men who had come with him,

went on board his ship, and sailed in search of his son. He had a book which spoke to him and always advised him what to do. It said, 'Tell your men that they must not take their wives on board the ship, else you will not find your son.' Nanak did as he was told by the book. His followers obeyed except one, who loved his wife dearly, and concealed her in his trunk.

"After they had sailed a long while, they approached an unknown coast. Here they found a village, and went ashore. They entered the houses, and found that they were inhabited by women, and that not a single man lived in this country. Nanak's men asked the women to become their wives; but they pointed to a great log lying on the beach, and said, 'Do you see yon log? He is our husband.' The Russians were at first incredulous, but, on examining the log more closely, they saw that its limbs were set with teeth. One of the sailors, however, tried to take hold of a woman; but they attacked him, and almost killed him.

"Nanak called his men back to the ship, and they reached her in safety. They set sail at once, and continued their search. After having sailed many days and nights, they descried another coast, and saw a village in a small opening. They landed and looked around, but they did not see a living being. After a while, they discovered shadows moving about, and feathers flying to and fro. They were frightened, but soon one and the other mustered courage and entered the houses. Then they discovered boxes full of sea-otter and sealskins, and plenty of fish and deer-tallow. They called their friends, and, as they did not see anybody except the shadows and feathers, they resolved to carry the treasures away. They took bundles of skins out of the boxes, and were going to carry them to the beach, when invisible hands arrested them before they reached the door, and took the bundles from them. Thus they discovered that the shadows and feathers were the owners of this place, and that they would not allow them to take anything away. But their greediness got the better of their caution, and they attempted to rob the shadows and feathers of their treasures. When they tried to do so, invisible hands clubbed them, and it was only with difficulty that they escaped to their ship.

"They set sail, and after many days and nights they arrived in the country where people eat toads. The people whom they met there caught toads that were more than a span long. They sucked them out, and threw the skins away. The Russians, however, disliked this custom, and, as they had nothing else to eat, they fried the toads before eating them.

They proceeded on their search, and soon came to that part of the earth where it is always dark. For ten days they sailed in the dark. Heavy gales made the waves rise to tremendous heights, and the foam struck the top of their masts. Nanak was afraid

lest his ship might be lost and he himself and his men might perish. He asked his book, and it said, 'Do not be afraid. Continue your course, and to-morrow you will see your son.' Nanak obeyed, and on the next day he arrived at the edge of the world. Far beyond he saw smoke rising in the land of the dead, but he did not see his son. Then he cried for sorrow. He went to his book, opened it, and asked, 'O book, tell me, why don't I see my son?' The book replied, 'There is a woman on board the ship. That is the reason why you are unable to see your son.' When Nanak heard this his veins swelled with wrath, and he called all his men, and threatened to kill the culprit. He searched in the hold and in all parts of the ship for the woman, and, as he did not find her, he ordered all trunks to be opened. Then he found the unfortunate woman. He cut off her head, and threw the corpse into the sea. Her husband, who had disobeyed Nanak's orders, was also thrown overboard.

"He proceeded along the edge of the world. Nothing was to be seen but sky and water. After a while he heard a terrible noise. He did not know what was the cause of it, but resolved to investigate it. Thus he came to the corner of the earth where the water of the ocean rushes during the ebb-tide in a terrible whirlpool down into the under-world, to return again after a few hours, and thus to make the flood. When the ship approached this dreadful place, she was almost drawn into the whirl; but Nanak cast anchor, and, when the chain became too taut, he cast a second and a third anchor. Having thus secured his ship, he tied a bucket to a long rope, and threw it from the stern of the ship into the whirlpool. He had to pay out many thousand fathoms of rope before the bucket struck the bottom of the sea. Then he pulled it up again, and he found a letter in the bucket, which said, 'We who live here in the under-world are happy that you have come at last! We have no fresh water: please give us some.' Nanak complied with their request, and sent down a bucket of fresh water. When they hauled the line in again, they found the water gone, but the bucket full of money, and a letter in it, which said, 'Please give us some more water, and we will pay you well.' Four times Nanak gave them water, and each time they returned the bucket full of money.

"After Nanak had thus seen where the water goes when it is ebb-tide, he returned to our country. But he had been on his cruise so long that the men who had gone out with him young were gray-haired when they returned."

If this legend were not amalgamated with well-known historic events, and if it did not contain references to European inventions, there would be nothing to indicate its recent origin. Its first part may be considered reasonably accurate, except for the claim of vic-

tory in a battle in which the natives were signally defeated; but with the moment of Baranoff's departure—in fact, his departure for Russia—the events become entirely fanciful. The native storyteller has filled out the unknown parts of the life of the admired Baranoff with wonderful exploits. The characteristic and important feature, from our point of view, is that these adventures belong to the common stock of Indian folk-lore. It seems desirable to prove this fact in some detail.

The latter part of the legend refers to the views held by the Tlingit regarding the fate of the soul after death, and regarding the form of the world. There are many stories telling how powerful shamans visited the underworld, or saw the land of the spirits, which is situated just outside the borders of the flat earth. The Tlingit believe that the earth is a square, the corners of which turn toward the four cardinal points. In the beginning, before man was created, it was swinging up and down in space, but eventually a female spirit succeeded in fastening it to an underworld. Since that time she has held the earth, lest it should again lose its hold. In the northern corner is the great whirlpool through which the ebb-tide rushes to the lower world, and from which the flood-tide returns. Outside the borders of the world is the abode of those who died of sickness, while those dying a violent death go to heaven.

The preceding adventure—the visit to the village of the shadows and feathers—occurs as an incident in the raven myth of the Tlingit. According to their beliefs, the Raven created sun, moon, and stars, and man and animals. Later on, he wandered all over the world, and many are the adventures told of him. In these the great creator appears as a cheat and liar throughout; who, however, seldom succeeds in his tricks, and is finally beaten by his enemies. I believe the story of his wanderings, and similar stories of adventures of travelers, have had a great influence upon the Nanak tale, in so far as they encouraged the invention of similar legends of wanderers. The incident of the raven legend, above referred to, is almost identical with that of the Nanak tale. It is told how the raven wished to obtain the skins and the tallow owned by the shadows and feathers, and how he fared at their hands.

The first among the Nanak adventures illustrates another point. The tale of women being married to a log which provides for them is not common in the folk-lore of the Indians. It appears, however, in the traditions of the Eskimo, who have a tale of a hero who traveled all over the world, and who in one place had the same adventure that is ascribed in our legend to Nanak. This, taken together with the reference to a country of continuous darkness, points to the occurrence of Eskimo elements in the tale.

It appears, therefore, that the story of Baranoff's adventures is almost entirely a combination of well-known elements, largely current in the folk-lore of the tribe, but partly borrowed from a neighboring people. There is very little in it that is original invention.

It is of importance to inquire whether the historical development of mythology has been of a similar character, or whether in this case each myth must be considered a unit in growth and development. If the myths consist of old elements combined in various ways, it would seem improbable, if not impossible, that their interpretation as explanations of phenomena of nature should give us a clew to their historic origin.

This point may also be illustrated by means of a definite example, as which I will select a sun myth of the North Pacific coast:

"According to the tradition of the Comox, a tribe living on Vancouver Island, there was a chief who had two sons. Instead of going hunting, the boys spent their time gathering the roots of bracken, which they ate until roots began to grow between their fingers. Then their father scolded them, saying, 'You had better go and marry the Sun's daughters rather than spend your time in this manner.' The boys took their father's words to heart, and went westward. Then they took their bows and arrows, and began to shoot their arrows toward the sky. The first arrow stuck in the sky. The second arrow hit the nock of the first arrow, and thus they continued until a chain was formed reaching down to the ground. They climbed up the chain of arrows, and reached the sky, a beautiful open prairie. In walking along, they met with two blind women, whose eyesight they restored. In return, the women pointed out the way to the Sun's house, and warned them, saying that the Sun tried to kill all the suitors of his daughters. At the same time the women gave them advice as to how to escape the attacks of the Sun. They proceeded, and met the Crane, who

also gave them advice. Finally they reached the pond from which the Sun's daughters were wont to draw water. The boys had hidden in the branches of a tree; and the girls, on seeing their reflection in the water, believed them to be drowned. On looking up, however, they discovered them in the branches of the tree, and invited them to come to their father's house. As soon as they had entered, the Sun spread a mat for them, which was set with long, sharp spikes. The Crane had made their skin as hard as stone, consequently they were not harmed by sitting down on the mat; but they crushed the spikes. Next the Sun heated stones in the fire, and compelled them to swallow the stones. The Crane had taught them to make stones pass through their bodies rapidly by jumping up very quickly. They did so, and the hot stones did not harm them. In short, the Sun was not able to kill them by means of the tests which he had used to kill the other suitors of his daughters. He was compelled to consent to their marriage; but even then he did not give up his attempts to kill his sons-in-law.

"One day he invited them to accompany him when he was going out to cut wood. He split a tree, and intentionally dropped his hand-hammer into the crack of the tree. Then he asked his sons-in-law to get the hammer, and when they had entered the crack, he knocked out the props which kept the tree apart. It closed upon them, and he believed that he had killed them. But the young men flew out of the tree in the shape of birds, and merely squirted some white and red paint out of the crack in order to make the old man believe that they were dead. When the Sun returned home, he was surprised to find his sons-in-law there. Next he tried to kill them by inducing them to catch an artificial seal which he had made, and which he had instructed to drag their canoe far out to sea. The boys escaped this danger by their power over the winds, which drifted them back to the shore. Finally, the Sun asked them to catch his playfellows, the wolves, bears, and the grizzly bears. The young men obeyed, but asked the animals to bite and scratch and tear their father-in-law, who was thus killed."

This is a typical example of a certain class of American sun myths, in which the Sun appears as an enemy of mankind, who is finally replaced by some successor.

In analyzing this myth we will not only compare its elements with other myths of the same tribe, but we will consider also the tales of neighboring tribes.

It begins with the disobedience of the sons of the chief, who in consequence orders them to undertake a difficult task. This feature occurs in innumerable tales of Indian tribes, partly, as in

the present case, by way of introduction, to explain why a difficult task is undertaken; partly as an important element of the tale itself. Next, the two boys make a chain of arrows reaching to the sky. The same motive is found in many tales referring to visits to the sky. In the interior of the Continent we find a tale of the animals making war upon the inhabitants of the sky. After having gained the victory, they all return along the chain of arrows, which, however, breaks before the fish and the snails have come down. The fallen arrows are the Rocky Mountains. The fish and the snails are compelled to jump down, and thus break their bones. For this reason the snail has no bones at all, while the fish's body is full of small bones.

Another important myth in which the chain of arrows occurs refers to the Mink's visit to his father the Sun, whose place he intends to take.

In the tradition which we are discussing here, the boys reach an open country, and, in search of the Sun's house, meet a number of beings whom they benefit, and who advise them of approaching dangers. This has come to be one of the favorite features in North American tales. Whenever a young man undertakes a difficult task, he meets with the friendly counsel of animals whom he benefits in some way, or whom he causes to believe they have been benefited.

One of the most striking cases of this kind is the story of the attempt of a man to recover his wife, who has been abducted by a whale. He pursues the latter in his canoe, and when the whale dives, he throws out his anchor, descends along the anchor-line, and finds a trail along the bottom of the sea, which he follows. Finally he comes to a giant who is splitting wood by means of wedges and a hammer. The man who hides in the wood breaks off the point of the wedge when the giant drives it in. The giant begins to cry because he fears being punished by his master for having broken the valuable wedge. Then the man appears, asks him why he is crying, and offers to mend the wedge. This pleases the giant, who promises his assistance to the man in obtaining possession of his wife. The same feature is found in a long series of tales referring to the origin of salmon. It is told in these tra-

ditions how the hero who obtained the salmon gained the good-will and assistance of various beings whom he helped.

The next step in the development of our tradition of the two boys is their arrival at the house of the Sun. They climb a tree, and are believed by the Sun's daughters to be in the water, because their reflections appear there. The same motive is used in a great variety of traditions. There are tales of monsters living in the woods which descend from the mountains. A person who sees one coming makes his escape by climbing a tree which overhangs the water. The monster stops under the tree, and falls in love with the reflection of the person, mourning at the same time that he is dead at the bottom of the water. Finally the monster discovers his mistake, and the tales then develop in various ways.

Taking up the thread of the sun myth which we are discussing here, we find the entrance into the Sun's house, and a number of severe tests to which the visitors are made to submit. This motive enters into innumerable traditions of the Northwest Indians, only a few of which show any relationship to sun myths. The Chinook tell of the marriage of a young man to the daughter of the Thunder, who lives in the woods, and goes whaling every day. The tests to which the young man is subjected are practically the same as those given to the young men visiting the Sun. Some Indian tribes of northern British Columbia tell the same story of a chief who lived on an island near by, and who disliked his son-in-law; and among another tribe of this region we find a tale of a chief who tries to kill his brothers in various ways. Here the tests vary slightly from those mentioned before, the most interesting difference being the attempt to drown the chief in a box loaded with stones, and by ordering him to bring the giant Clam, which kills everybody between its shells.

Thus we have seen that the elements of a complex myth appear in endless combinations, partly in the tales of the tribe that owns the myth, partly in those of its neighbors. In our case we have taken examples only from tribes that live so near by, and whose culture is so much alike, that there can be no reasonable doubt of an historic connection between similar tales.

The same method of comparison might, however, be applied the world over, and analogies might be found in the most distant regions. The tale which we selected is a fair instance of this kind. Thus Codrington tells a closely related legend from Banks Island, near New Guinea, of the deity Quat, who makes a chain of arrows in order to recover his wife, that had escaped him and was living in the sky. Of another somewhat complex tale of this region we need give here only a small portion :

"A hero had been vanquished by an enemy, who had shot off his ear with an arrow. The hero borrowed his mother's stone hatchet, and, by striking the root of a tree once, he caused it to break to pieces, and one of the pieces to take the form of a new ear, which he put on. While his enemies were celebrating their victory, he dug a pit, which he covered with a mat made of palm-leaves. Then he made a fire, in which he roasted delicious fruits that attracted the attention of his enemies. They tried to take some of the fruit, and in doing so fell into the pit that had been dug for this purpose. Then the hero took red-hot stones out of his fire and threw them into the pit in order to kill his enemies, who lamented their fate and expected to die. Their leader, however, asked them to stand aside in a small cave that he had prepared. After the hero had gone, the leader took his bow and shot an arrow upward into the branch of a fig-tree which overhung the pit. He shot a second arrow, which hit the nock of the first; and thus he continued until a chain was made which enabled the men to climb up and to make their escape."

The material of which this tale is composed is evidently to a great extent the same as that which we find in the North American sun myth. We have the chain of arrows enabling the hero to ascend to the upper world. We have the attempt to kill by means of red-hot stones in a cave, which is a salient feature of many traditions of this class.

Another part of our myth belongs to the endless variety of tales of tests that are found the world over. This class includes the well-known fairy tales of Europe, telling of persons who, in order to relieve others, have to perform certain tasks, such as finding the golden horse, or bringing up a golden key that has been lost in a pond, or removing a mountain in a single night, or gathering a bagful of pearls that have been scattered over a meadow. In our fairy tales, all these tasks are accomplished by

the assistance of animals whom the hero has benefited, or by the kindly help of fairies. The fundamental idea in our American tales is the same. The chief's sons who visit the Sun accomplish their tasks by the gifts that they received from the Crane. They escape the closing tree by transforming themselves into birds. They evade the dangers of the ocean by their power over the wind, and finally overcome their enemy by the assistance of animals.

The incident of the mat set with murderous spikes has a wide distribution in America. It has been found in South America, as well as scattered among tribes here and there in North America.

In all these cases the tribes that possess the same or similar traditions live so far apart that an historical transmission does not seem plausible; and thus it becomes difficult to decide where borrowing must be assumed as a cause of sameness of myths, and where other causes may have been at work. Evidently this question is closely associated with the vexed question of dissemination of cultural elements and their independent origin, here and there, due to the sameness of the organization of the human mind. The similarity of cultural traits in regions as far apart as Africa and Australia, western Asia and South America, seems to be explicable only on the assumption that the human mind must of necessity, under conditions sufficiently alike, develop the same ideas. This theory, carried to its extreme consequences, would lead us to consider the contents of the mind purely as an outcome of the organization of the mind and of sense experience. While our whole knowledge of the historical development of civilization is opposed to this extreme view, showing as it does at all places and in all times the stimulating effect of contact of different peoples and clear evidences of extended borrowing, the burden of proof of historical contact between disconnected regions rests on those who advocate the theory that sameness of ideas or customs can be due to transmission only.

It may be well to illustrate this point by an additional example. The Indians of the Pacific coast believe that the arrow of man is invisible to spirits and animals. This idea is elaborated in a number of traditions. For instance, a monster is stealing provisions from a house every night. It is finally discovered and shot by the

owner of the house. It escapes, and he pursues it. Finally he reaches the village in which the monster is living. All the medicine-men belonging to the tribe of the monster are trying in vain to cure it. He is invited to make an attempt, and he withdraws the arrow, which is invisible to the monster's tribe. This idea is, of course, analogous to the idea of material sickness, which is visible only to the shaman.

In Micronesia, more particularly in the Pelew Islands, we find the same idea. It is well expressed in a tradition reported by Kubary. A young man went out fishing. He had a bite, but the fish broke the line and escaped. The young man, desirous of recovering his fish-hook, dived, and reached the bottom of the sea. There he found an open country. He saw a village, and heard moaning in one of the houses. Soon a girl came out of the house, and told him that her mother was sick, and that the shaman was unable to discover the cause of her sickness. He was asked to come in, discovered his hook, and as soon as he had taken out the hook the sick person was cured.

According to the theory of independent origin, we should say offhand that here we have the same idea existing in two widely separated regions, and that its occurrence is fully explained by the organization of the human mind, which develops the idea that sickness is a material object that enters the body, and which must be removed in order to recover health. A second idea is, that all nature is anthropomorphic, but is divided into groups, which differ so much in organization that what is natural to one group is supernatural to any of the other groups.

In the present case, where no connecting links between Micronesia and America are known, it would be rash to say that the sameness of these tales is due to transmission, since we have no clear evidence of contact between these distant regions.

The case is quite different, however, when we confine ourselves to a limited geographical area in which cultural contact has been going on continuously. A mere statistical enumeration of the number of tales that are common to a certain tribe and its neighbors shows very clearly a marked decrease in their numbers as the distances between the tribes increase. At the same time,

differences in detail are apt to increase, and the variants from two extreme points of the area of distribution of a tale are apt to be quite distinct. The sun myth which we selected as the starting-point of our discussion furnishes a good illustration. The tradition as a whole is characteristic of a small section of the North Pacific coast. Tales of a visit to the sky are common all over America; but they differ so much in detail from the tradition here recorded that their identity does not appear as certain. The ascent to the sky by means of a chain of arrows belongs to the coast region from central Oregon to Alaska, and inland as far as the Rocky Mountains. The incident of the invisible hero's meeting with his advisers has a wider distribution. Thus every incident may be shown to occur over a considerable area. Some are widely known, others spread over a more restricted territory.

In such a case of continuous geographical distribution of complex myths and of numerous elements of myths, and in regions where inter-tribal intercourse has always existed, their sameness must be assumed to be due to historical transmission. While it may be that one or the other single trait originated independently, in the same way as among distant tribes, the increasing divergence with increasing distance, and the great number of complex cultural traits common to neighboring tribes, can be explained only as a result of historical causes.

When we apply this method to the mythologies of America, the complexity of their origin becomes at once apparent. This is the case even if we exclude rigidly all cases of isolated occurrences of myths as possibly due to independent invention, and consider only those of a wide, continuous distribution.

It is also noteworthy that this complexity of origin is not confined to semi-secular tales, but that it is characteristic of the most sacred myths. The incident of the closing of the deluge by animals that bring up from the bottom of the waters some mud from which the new earth is created, belongs to one of the most important myths of the eastern Algonquin. It is distributed over eastern North America, the Mackenzie basin, and appears in a few isolated places on the Pacific coast, sometimes as part of the creation myth, and again as part of an isolated animal tale. Even

in the esoteric myths of ritualistic societies these elements may be discovered.

The areas over which legends can thus be proved to have migrated are very large. The incident last mentioned is found over the greater part of our continent. We have also examples of tales that are found in East Greenland, and are known over a continuous area as far south as the southern border of Canada, and westward to the Pacific Ocean. Here belongs, for instance, the tale of a blind boy who was starved by his mother, and whose eyesight was restored by a goose that dived with him; and that of a woman who married a dog and became the ancestress of a tribe. Other tales are common to the Plains and to the Western Plateaus, and seem to extend far into Mexico.

While the details of the geographical distribution of tales are not yet satisfactorily known, it has become evident that there has been liberal exchange all over the northern half of the continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and also between northern Mexico, the Western Plateaus, and the Plains of the Mississippi. Recent investigations have also shown that quite a number of tales are common to eastern Asia and northwestern America, extending southeastward as far as the Great Plains, so that we must assume a certain amount of interchange between the Old World and the New. To this group belongs the tale of the magic flight, in which is recounted the pursuit of a person who is saved by the transformation into obstacles of a number of objects thrown backward over his shoulder.

The amount of dissemination in the New World seems to be almost the same as that found in the Old World, where we can prove by literary documents that the tales have traveled so far that they occur now in Japan and in Spain, in India and in Siberia. Nothing travels so easily and seems to be absorbed so readily as a tale.

While there is no difficulty in applying this method, as long as the area under consideration is not too large and the similarity of the tales specific, we soon find it difficult, in investigations of this kind, to tell whether the myths are the same, or whether there is only a family resemblance; and we find also that the methodical

principles demanding continuity of distribution and identity of contents have become involved in doubt.

This is true, in the case of American mythologies, as soon as we consider the continent as a whole, including both North and South America. The culture-hero myths of both continents, for instance, have much in common. There are the sudden appearance, the migrations, the disappearance of the hero, who is often presented as a bearded man of light color, coming from the east; his actions also are not unlike. Some of these similarities appear sporadically, others occur everywhere in vast areas. There is a general resemblance of style in most American mythologies, which sets them off fairly sharp from those of other continents, and which are nevertheless so vague that they can hardly be ascribed to direct dissemination.

At the same time, the cultural conditions of the tribes to which these mythologies belong are so distinct, embracing the highly advanced Peruvian and Mexican and the poor wanderer of the tropical woods and of the arid plateaus; and their geographical surroundings are so different, ranging from the arid desert and the northern prairie to the tropical forests, and from high mountain-ranges to endless plains, that the similarities cannot be assumed to be due to the influence of analogous conditions. Neither does it seem likely that the peculiar mental characteristics of the American race should have always led to the same forms of thought. This theory is based on an assumption of racial features that can hardly be proved to exist. Even granting differences in the mental traits of different races independent of social conditions, it seems difficult to conceive why members of the same race, provided they are historically entirely independent, should develop ideas that are similar in details. The anatomical differentiation within the American race is so great that we may recognize greater affinity between the natives of eastern Siberia and those of northwestern America than between a Californian and a Botocudo of Brazil; and no good reason can be given why the similarities of mythologies here referred to should belong to the greater part of America, and why they should not appear equally pronounced outside of the New World, among the closely related tribes of Asia.

It seems much more plausible to consider these broad characteristics of American mythology either as survivals of very early cultural forms of the race, which have perished notwithstanding all later modifications, or as an effect of dissemination and acculturation that have been going on for thousands of years, now in one direction, now in another, and which have resulted in a certain resemblance of generalized cultural traits in most parts of America.

The results so far reached are fundamental for the attempt to give a psychological interpretation of Indian mythologies. If it is true that there has been extended borrowing, even in the most sacred myths, then they cannot be simply the result of a rationalistic attempt to explain nature. If we wish to reach a clear understanding of the history of mythology, our first efforts at explanation must therefore be directed toward an interpretation of the reasons leading to borrowing and to the modification of mythological material by assimilation.

It is true, these results seem to make the origin of myths even more obscure than it was before. The facts which we have collected seem to show that the mythologies of the present time are an exceedingly complex growth, and that, besides the question of the origin of myths, another distinct problem, that of its historical development, confronts us; but it may be considered doubtful whether a knowledge of the recent development of mythologies will bring us any nearer to an understanding of the rise of the first anthropomorphic myth.

THE TIMES AND THE MANNERS

MUCH sooner than could have been expected three months ago, the great war between Russia and Japan has come to an end; and American influence has been the power that has achieved the world's peace. Neither Russia nor Japan was ready to take the first step. Holding Port Arthur, and in command of the eastern seas, Japan, fully able to throw fresh armies into Manchuria, and to maintain uninterrupted communication with them, was eager to crush the Russian land forces, which she had defeated but not routed in the carnage of Mukden. And Russia, with her navy destroyed, with her army demoralized, dependent upon a single line of communication, hourly threatened by Oyama's forces, and in peril of a mighty revolution at home, was yet unconquered, dogged, and determined at any cost to re-establish her military prestige before giving up the struggle.

Such were the conditions when the great European powers made the suggestion that America should invite the contending empires to confer on American soil, and, if possible, agree upon concessions that should terminate the conflict. This invitation, extended by President Roosevelt, was accepted in good faith by both Russia and Japan, and on the fifth day of August the plenipotentiaries, Count Witte and Baron Rosen, Baron Komura, and Minister Takahira, were introduced to each other by President Roosevelt at Oyster Bay. Three days later they arrived at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and on August tenth the Japanese terms of peace were presented to the Russian envoys. By the seventeenth of the month a deadlock had been reached, and there was every indication that the conference would break up and that peace, indefinitely postponed, would be achieved at last only through long and terribly costly military operations in Manchuria.

It was then that President Roosevelt took positive action. Diplomatically unconventional (as his way is), he played a part in the proceedings that no European sovereign could have assumed. After a conference with Baron Kaneko, who probably in confidence and unofficially, intimated to the President what conces-

sions Japan might finally make, the President summoned Baron Rosen to Sagamore Hill. Just what things he said to the Russian plenipotentiary, and in just what terms of vigorous speech he said them, may not be known at present. But the deadlock at Portsmouth was broken. On September fifth the Treaty of Portsmouth was signed.

Japan had waived her demand for indemnity, and left half of the island of Sakhalin, north of the fiftieth degree of north latitude, to Russia; but, as fruits of the war, she had secured unquestioned and recognized supremacy in Korea, the transfer to herself of all of Russia's rights at Port Arthur and Dalny, the southern half of Sakhalin island, the right to fish in Russian territorial waters of the Sea of Japan, the Sea of Okhotsk, and Behring Sea, and the pledge of Russia to withdraw absolutely from Manchuria. Both powers are to have eighteen months to complete the military evacuation of Manchuria, after which the Manchurian railway is to be jointly operated, and each power is to maintain fifteen soldiers per kilometer as guards.

While nothing is said in the treaty of the relations of the contending powers to China, the terms, by implication, insure the present territorial integrity of the Chinese Empire; but also, in view of existing relations between China and Japan, they render certain the rapid and tremendous increase of Japanese influence throughout the Yellow Orient.

That a treaty of peace which should thus let Russia off easily should be bitterly disappointing to the Japanese populace was to be expected, and great surprise at the rioting in Tokio and elsewhere is uncalled for.

We have not shared the opinion of those who have attributed the Japanese capacity for self-sacrifice and for heroic conduct on the battlefield wholly to that religious fervor of ancestor and Mikado worship which has been offered as an adequate explanation of Japanese earnestness in this war. The Jap is an Oriental, to be sure. But presumably he is human, and in proportion as he is human he has hated Russia with a vindictiveness properly proportioned to what the late Joshua Billings would have called the

"pure cussedness" of the Russian attitude toward Japan since the war with China. The Japanese desired not only to drive Russia from Manchuria, but also to punish her, and they do not take kindly to a termination of the war which leaves the instinct of vengeance so far unsatisfied.

These remarks, however, let us observe, apply only to that part of the Japanese people which we have called the populace, that element to be found in the cities of every nation, which is easily moved to passion, and which contributes little to the creation of true public opinion. That the educated classes in Japan will in the long run pronounce the Treaty of Portsmouth a work of wisdom, we are confident. And they will hold in far higher reverence their elder statesmen and their plenipotentiaries than they can now, in these first days of disappointment.

It is never wise to humiliate too far a brave foe, or to exact terms that are regarded as extortionate. When Germany, at the close of the Franco-Prussian War, insisted upon the cession of Alsace and Lorraine, she made an unpardonable mistake of both diplomacy and what, for lack of any more explicit term, may be called Christian behavior. France would cheerfully have paid the tremendous money indemnity of five milliards, but the loss of territory left in her heart a rancor that the years of a generation have not extinguished. We most profoundly hope that the Japanese people will yet accept, not only in good faith and philosophically, but also cheerfully and in full recognition of their wisdom, the terms of the Peace of Portsmouth. It should be a matter of deep national pride to her that she has shown herself to be a great world power, the mistress of the eastern seas, a nation with a hitherto unheard-of capacity for magnificent administrative achievement along the most modern scientific lines, while also brave to the uttermost. Let her now show herself gracious and magnanimous and fully self-restrained, and she will command throughout the years to come the profoundest respect of the entire civilized world.

If there is any unfortunate feature of the peace now assured, it is the possibility that the thorough-going regeneration of Rus-

sia herself, which has been anticipated, may now be delayed. The autocratic government did not make concessions to the reformers until the situation at St. Petersburg had been made desperate by defeat in the East. With the army back in Russia the government can again resort to repressive measures that were not possible a year ago. That is to say, it can, if the army itself is loyal. It must be remembered, however, that disaffection is far more easily spread in an army stationed at military posts in times of peace than in an army actively employed in the field.

In any case, it is not probable that the Czar will withdraw his assent to the formation of a national assembly. The Zemstvo Congress, which met at Moscow in July, discussed the domestic situation with great freedom of speech, and before adjourning arranged to organize popular assemblies throughout the country. It was immediately after this action that the Czar summoned a commission to give final consideration to the project for a national assembly. The commission met early in August, and a plan for an assembly was approved by the Council at Peterhoff on August eighth. On the eighteenth the Czar issued his manifesto, proclaiming a national consultative assembly, election to which shall be by indirect vote.

Doubtless many years will pass before this assembly, or its successor, or successors, will become a true national parliament, but the first step has been taken. The Russian people has found a voice, and the dread of discussion has been dispelled. Public opinion will be created, and little by little it will become what it always is in every country where it exists—the real power behind parliaments and thrones.

Meanwhile an uprising in the Caucasus has assumed serious proportions. Economic discontent, religious fanaticism, and hatred of the government, have combined to throw Tartars, Armenians and Persians into a mad fury of insurrection. A thousand or more persons have been killed in conflict with the troops; the great oil industry has been ruined; a hundred thousand workmen have become fugitives, and a money loss of at least a hundred millions annually in state revenue has already been entailed. With the Caucasus, Poland and Finland thus bitter and distraught, Rus-

sia has plenty of work to occupy her for a long time after her armies have forgotten the cornfields and trenches of Manchuria.

By an almost unanimous vote, Norway has registered her desire for separation from Sweden. It is heresy, especially in the United States, to express approval of any disruption of federal states. In our own case the secession of the southern states, had it been successful, would have created on this continent a group of nations jealous and fearful of one another and probably compelled, like the states of Europe, to maintain great military systems. But why, as a general principle or policy, should we wish great federal nations for all time to exercise sovereignty over the entire world? While some things are gained by union, some very beautiful, even priceless, things are lost. The finest fruits of civilization have ripened in small states. What would the world be to-day but for the little states of Greece, and the city republics of Florence, Venice and other Italian towns? Would not half the charms of Europe be lost forever if Holland and Denmark should be absorbed by Germany, Belgium by France, and Switzerland by France, Italy, and Germany? Is it not desirable that we should have more, rather than fewer, independent small nations, each solving the problems of life in its own way, and each creating its own hue of local color? We wish for Sweden and Norway peace, prosperity and enlightenment, and if each can secure these blessings as an independent nation, we should like to see them do so. We must confess that we hope that the experiment will be tried.

Our affairs in China, it seems, are seriously in danger. So great is the apprehension of the government that the State Department, it is understood, has officially warned the Chinese authorities of our intention to hold them responsible for any loss sustained through the boycott of American goods. Any prediction of the outcome at present would have to be based on so few of the facts likely to be known at a later period as to make it altogether untrustworthy.

To those who have knowledge of the Chinaman in his own

country, the situation is peculiarly uncertain. The assurance of Sir Chentung Laing Hai Cheng that his government will do its utmost to maintain order and to protect American property, and the efforts of the arbiter of our former difficulties with China may or may not re-establish peaceful relations. Even the unexpected change of attitude of those who represent the commercial interests of the Pacific Coast may not be the effective stroke.

Neither threat of discontinuance of negotiations looking toward a new exclusion act, nor any movement toward retaliation, is likely to coerce the Chinese merchant. The people of China are manifestly bent upon solving this problem in their own way; and judging them by other demonstrations of power, it is more than probable that their voice may not be disregarded.

There is perhaps no other country except Japan where the popular will is so likely to settle a question of this kind. A few examples of the absolute majority rule of the people responsible for the alarm to our trade interests may throw light upon the present crisis. Trade disputes are settled in China, not by courts of law, but by the guilds and trades-unions. In 1889 the tea merchants of the city of Hangchow called a strike. A tax had been put by the government, upon tea, for the purpose of raising money for the relief of the sufferers from a recent famine. Simultaneously every tea house in Hangchow was closed. In a few days from this demonstration of "mass sovereignty," the tax upon tea was removed for a cash payment to the officials of fifteen hundred dollars, which was accepted as a final discharge of obligation. In his book, *China and the Chinese*, Mr. Herbert Allen Giles records an instance of popular government in the province of Ssüch'uan which is yet more illuminating. The trouble between the citizens and the government authorities of Chungking in 1880 began with the proclamation of a proposed tax upon pork of 200 *cash* on each pig, and the regulation that not more than 2 *cash* more per pound might be asked by the butchers for pork. The Chungking dealers in pork were not taxed according to the decree. Seizing all of the pork exposed for sale by non-resisting merchants, they shut up the five hundred shops, and awaited developments. After a vain attempt to force entrance thereto, the

magistrates retired. Thereupon, the troops were called out, and volleys from small arms were fired from time to time to impress the obdurate with the majesty of the law. On the sixth day the Pah-shien magistrate "issued a proclamation apologizing to the people generally, and to the butchers particularly, for his share of the work in trying to increase the obnoxious tax on pigs."

The announcement of Mr. Laing Hai Cheng that "if the Chinese government were able to restrain the classes of people who were instigating and maintaining the boycott, . . . he felt sure it would exert its power at once," would seem, in the light of these revelations, to have been prompted by a not unwarranted diplomatic reserve. While the demands of the *Man Mirror* Literary Society of Shanghai proclaim the present movement of a somewhat different character than those to whose measures reference is here made, they make quite plain the intentions of an equally long-suffering and persistent class. The awakening of California to its responsibility for the present strained relations is rather too late to affect the situation now. It is doubtful whether anything can be done about it on this side of the Pacific until Congress is disposed to act. In the meantime the determination on the part of the Chinese people not to use our cloth, oil, or other American exports, to impose a fine on those secretly dealing in our goods, and not to make friends with any or betroth their children to any who will not join the boycott, is likely to be carried to its ultimate consequences.

Again the Mayor of Philadelphia is responsible for an experiment in local self-government that, so far as it goes, is such a triumph of those who desire the greatest good of the greatest number as is seldom achieved in a world whose most energetic beings have been trained to put up with endless compromises. The police canvass of the voting lists of the metropolis over which he presides was not satisfactory to this astute director of municipal affairs. According to the report of the officers usually detailed to keep the city's peace, and hitherto relied upon for security against unlawful practices in general, there were 31,749 fraudulent names of voting members of the population. At the insti-

gation of the chief executive, the Department of Public Safety was set to work to verify this list of the non-existent. The new guardians of the welfare of the community found more than sixty thousand fraudulently registered names.

Apparently, security need not longer be relegated to the place reserved for the unattainable. Whatever difficulties may yet stand in the way of complete realization of the ideal of public safety, there is reason to congratulate ourselves that the necessity for putting up with the kind of thing heretofore accepted as the best to be obtained by way of protection against harm through fraudulent, or other unsocial practices, is materially lessened. Notwithstanding the prevailing idea that effort to arrive at present perfection has never yet justified itself, new courage should, we think, be taken by that minority still engaged in the attempt. At all events, there seems to have been found some reason to hope that the ills we have to bear need not, perhaps, be as many as we have been led to expect.

To state the matter more concretely, the people of the United States, or those most directly concerned in the conditions under discussion, may be said to be divided into two classes in respect of their attitude toward the achievement of the ideals of a democracy.

The largest and formerly the most influential of these classes has persistently held that democracy is of itself foredoomed to failure. It is in the very nature of things that public security should not be attained by any mechanism set up for the purpose. In respect of its criticism of the systems employed, this larger division of the population, however, is yet further divided. Under one of its divisions are included all those who regard the more or less unsatisfactory arrangement of things present as permitted, if not divinely ordered, in contrast to a condition to be enjoyed in a mysteriously-arrived-at elsewhere, and under the other those who, though quite as fully convinced of human impotence, look not to any skies for help.

Under the second of the original categories, and, much smaller group, fall those who, perceiving that there have been no exceptions to the rule that things do not regulate themselves, have not

been content, nor yet have despaired of improving upon devices hitherto employed for the conduct of human affairs. The members of this minority also fall into groups having quite as distinguishing characteristics as those of the larger division. The man who is merely alive to the need of the hour does not like to be called a reformer. He is no propagandist. The class to which he belongs is not in any sense self-conscious. Its members are here grouped together only because under given circumstances they may be depended upon to act in like ways. They are not, therefore, in a strict sense of the word even purposive. They are simply an aggregation of individuals that do thoroughly the things that they set themselves to do. They term themselves plain business men, and are the highest representatives of that very necessary social element. Applying the same principles of economy to public as to private matters, they have from time to time proceeded to act upon them, and to compare ends with means in the public enterprises entrusted to their management in precisely the same businesslike way, and with the same foresight that they would employ in the management of their own affairs. Amazing as the state of things often is before the net loss is perceived, the change which they are sure to effect for us is usually one to challenge still greater astonishment. To the list of these reforms in the transaction of the public business, the Mayor of Philadelphia has added a noteworthy example. That the new check upon the wastefulness of the old system whose working capacity he has sought to improve will permanently secure an increase in security is by no means assured. The efforts of the most efficient of departments of public safety to-day may fall far short of the service required of that administrative organ next year. All that we have gained by the experiment is the knowledge that the *standard* of excellence in machinery for the protection of the public has been raised. Whatever may be the outcome in civic virtue, some advance has certainly been made over the old-time concession to things as we find them.

The inner working of our judiciary and executive systems is rarely exposed to public view as it has been by the reprieve of an

alleged murderer in Chicago. In response to a closely-timed effort by the friends of the condemned man, the Governor has granted a stay of proceedings to one Johann Hoch, bigamist, who was sentenced to be hanged for the killing of one of his wives. The Associated Press explains that the stay was allowed "only after the Governor had been assured that the necessary sum for an appeal had been raised."

Taken with the story of the narrow escape of the prisoner from an immediate execution of the death sentence, this explanation offers a disquieting illustration of the danger of the miscarriage of justice still lurking in our legal procedure. Are we to understand that in Illinois or elsewhere in America a prisoner's chance for life depends upon his ability to raise five hundred dollars? Do appeals turn upon the fulfillment of conditions wholly outside the merits of the case? Have we arrived at the stage of frank acknowledgment that we hang a poor man when a rich man might escape?

Obviously, there are conditions attaching to equality before the law. There is a definiteness about this Chicago interpretation that places the merely oratorical use of the phrase in the category of things meaningless. Yet as mere oratory, how great has been its service? In our own country it has had a conspicuous place in the constitutional history of every commonwealth established since migration to the Northwest began. Like other political sentiments, the ideal that no man should have greater privileges than another, so far as his legal standing is concerned, has been lived up to with more or less insistence, as circumstances have permitted. If the case brought to our present attention has served to remind us of other exceptions, in aggregate disproportionate to the rule, it is well to remember also that there have been more than the usual number of difficulties in the way of "specific performance" in so delicate a matter.

In the first place, while our eighteenth-century forbears theoretically proclaimed that all white men should be held to be free and equal, and doubtless believed that with the spread of enlightenment and the extension of economic opportunity they actually might become so, there was a prevailing idea that inequality must

be accepted as a practical condition for the time being. Next to the strong sentiment in favor of free schools, that one which recognized among the "inalienable rights" of the citizen of the United States the opportunity to defend himself against any charge of unlawful conduct was most warmly cherished. In practice, however, equality before the law was too new an ideal to be more than approximately realized. In the minds of the law-abiding and the "worthy," the vicious and congenitally worthless formed so large a part of the mass of mankind that the interests of those accused of unsocial conduct were advanced but little by their acquisition of the privileges of freemen. Neither the public defender nor the average jurymen was without the prejudice that might have precluded class distinctions in the courtroom.

Those commonwealths from whose constitutions the ideas involved in the ordinance of 1787 were derived have possibly been less given to prejudice than others, but on the whole there has been but slight difference in the results of this feeling of mental and moral inequality on the Ohio, the Merrimac, or the Delaware. The laws themselves have been made with reference to the older ideas. It is not so long since "gentlemen" were not only not prosecuted for offenses to which the bondman was liable, but since punishments meted out to less fortunate offenders were out of all proportion to the nature of most crimes.

This tendency to make excessive punishments possible in cases where the criminal is invariably a member of a despised class is well illustrated by the South to-day in its laws making death the penalty for house-breaking.

Money payments for injury in substitution for the blood of an offender or his kinsman are the oldest witness to the fact that men never have been equal before the law, for the elaborate gradations of the wergeld have not quite disappeared from "damages" as awarded by modern juries. When the list of "purgers" or "compurgators" of an accused person failed to register an amount exceeding the legal value set upon the oaths of the witnesses or compurgators on the side of the plaintiff, economic considerations may have been more brutally apparent, but were they of more weight than they are now, when, although compurgations and ordeals have yielded to "evidence," no railroad company would be com-

pelled by any jury to pay so much for maiming a farmer or a mechanic as it would be compelled to pay for maiming a bank president?

From the University of Chicago, where the reconstruction of the universe, material, social and literary, goes merrily on, comes the announcement that Professor Doctor Carrel hopes presently to replace wounded or worn-out human hearts with strong, healthy blood-pumps mercilessly appropriated from unoffending monkeys. Such an achievement will open up remarkable possibilities. If hearts anatomical, like hearts spiritual, may be renewed, why may not every other organ of the body also, until presently we should all be like the boy's jack-knife, which had had a new blade and then a new handle several times over, but remained always the same old jack-knife; or like the Kentuckian's Revolutionary musket that General Buckner used to tell about, with its new ramrod, its modern barrel and its machine-made stock, which retained, nevertheless, all the rare old flavor of antiquity? And, remembering what Mr. Burbank is doing with his fruits and flowers, why may we not breed specialized varieties of beasts with hearts, brains, livers and things nicely adapted for human appropriation? With such possibilities before us we need no longer be overmuch worried by the announcement, annually made in the anthropological columns of Sunday newspapers, that all our nice blond ladies are becoming extinct, or by the other announcement, that the amalgamation of races rapidly going forward all over the earth will presently produce one uniform type of tawny-skinned, wavy-haired, yellow-eyed, prognathic, amply zygomatic mezzocephalic human being. Obviously if we can get Doctors Burbank and Carrel to undertake team work, they ought to produce men and women of all colors, sizes and ages, according to taste. And really, when one bothers to think about it, why should we not have pale pink or opalescent girls as well as green carnations? Of course, some interesting moral complications might be encountered. Suppose, for example, that the brain of a sedentary philosopher should be grafted with gray tissue from a peculiarly athletic and obstreperous East Indian baboon? These difficulties, however, ought not to deter the scientific adventurer, because, after

all, what price would we not all be willing to pay for the mere possibility of regenerating a bad liver?

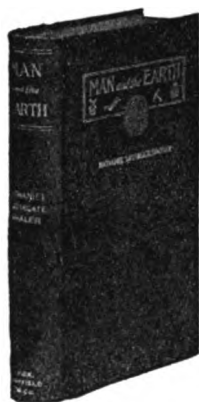
In Mr. Colby's humorous enumeration of the "imaginary obligations" and "minor oppressions" to which we Americans submit he impales so many of our follies that it seems more than usually gratuitous to point out any possible error into which he may have fallen. When he tells us that our moralists unnecessarily fret their hearers into the belief that the times are worse than they were a few generations ago, and avers that the self-indulgences and want of ideality in our smart sets are not to be compared with the coarseness and the bad taste of the eighteenth century world of fashion, we are not only taken with his way of putting the matter to us, but also we feel a new confidence in things in general. We see that the moralist is more than ever a conjuror with facts. The assertion that in order to prove his point of present degeneracy this regulator of human behavior helps us to make the past "a playroom for the imagination," from which we may "throw out the things we do not like," and that we are in the habit of doing so, is epigrammatic. Granting an enormous amount of unbecoming conduct, we are newly disposed to hold that it is possible to go on being human without entire loss of self-respect. But when Mr. Colby urges that the vulgarity and the licentiousness known to exist do not spread from their sources with the ease that the moralist would have us imagine, we begin to doubt.

The admonition bestowed by a Newport clergyman upon his smart congregation, that the "eyes of fifty million American citizens" were upon them, is cited as a particular instance of needless concern. We are assured that the Newport set is no such exemplar of fashion; that the average person does not even know the names of its notables; that the leader of a New York cotillon is, in fact, as obscure a personage outside of the exclusive circle he graces as any other representative of merely local talent. Those who write these people up, and those who allow themselves to be concerned about the force of their example usually have "a lot of Ouidaesque notions at the back of their heads." As for the New York and Newport society columns, they are of even less than

local interest. Their influence "may not reach across the street."

Apt as these illustrations are, they are not quite convincing. Like the playroom arrangement of the past, they leave out too much that has to be reckoned with. The lack of a "loyal peasantry," of "deferential trades-people," and of an "awe-struck middle class," does not seem to us to be the barrier to imitation or the disappointment to our aristocracy that Mr. Colby supposes. If it is true that obsequiousness and rank worship are not the distinguishing marks of our less favored classes at any given period of their economic disadvantage, it ought to follow that imitation of the affluent should encounter fewer obstructions than are met with in societies where class boundaries are definitely fixed. We are not without evidence that the manner of living of our multimillionaire class is freely copied by the aspiring family of the man whose "pile" has barely reached the million-dollar mark. As to the "crowd outside the railing," our genial satirist of imaginary obligations—and convictions—has underrated its numerical strength. Doubtless it may be said of us, as it may not be said of England, that there is no one class among us exclusively claiming the envy and attention of every other; that not only has each community its own peerage, but as many as there are grades of economic independence. There are, however, distinct grades of satisfaction to be derived from one's power to command such deference and awe as may be expected in this state of affairs. Obviously there is a point in the career of the members of our various peerages when the envy and attention of Pittsburg, of St. Louis, of San Francisco, or of any intervening metropolis, cannot suffice. New York and Newport then appear to have the only railings it is worth while to get inside of. There is, to be sure, enough independence in smart sets generally to offset any undue satisfaction that our national metropolis and most fashionable resort might take unto themselves on this account, but the number of the envious is still large. While, therefore, we are inclined to think the fifty million estimate of onlookers exaggerated, the number of instructors, purveyors and servitors to those eligible to New York and Newport exclusiveness indicates a growth of flunkysm and a degree of interest in our sensationally rich that may not be disregarded.

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THE REGENERATION OF THE ENLISTED SOLDIER

COLONEL CHARLES W. LARNED

IT is becoming increasingly evident that the conditions under which modern armies are to be recruited and maintained must undergo a very radical change if military organization is to be made thoroughly effective during those long intervals of peace which are the periods of schooling preparatory to the destructive activities for which armies are organized. The influences operating to bring about these changes have both a social and military source, and, of the two, probably the former are the more potent, while as yet the latter are manifest principally in technical reorganization.

It is the social viewpoint of the military function that has changed and is changing, due to the modification of the social conception of the relation of the individual to the State, and due also to the leveling tendency of modern thought.

The underlying conception of military service, upon which its modern status is based, is fundamentally feudal, no matter how much modification may have been wrought by changed social and political conditions. The bond of service by which the soldier is held; his social inferiority with respect to his officer; the arbitrary laws, and circumscription of civil rights; the annihilation of initiative and complete subordination of will; the absorp-

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tion of the entire fruit of his labor, and the claim over his life, place him in an environment of coercion wholly artificial as compared with that of his civil brother, and under conditions closely resembling those of the feudatory villain of the past. Even though the assumption of this relation be purely voluntary on the part of the soldier, the conditions are not materially changed. It is true that the nature of his responsibilities has undergone several modifications, passing from the purely personal one of slavery to the over-lord or monarch, to the impersonal one of duty to the State; but the military machine and its motive power have, in their essential character, remained unchanged.

To a certain extent, so long as organized warfare exists and armies are trained for its operations, the basic principles of their organization must remain undisturbed. There must be a certain definite surrender of will and initiative and obedient subordination to authority; there must be an arbitrary discipline to insure this, as well as to secure accurate co-ordination of action; and there must also be the surrender of life and limb to the service of the State. Without these fighting would be riot, and armies mobs. *But the discipline and spirit that insures these conditions cannot very much longer be made to result from the traditional relation of the soldier to the state and to his officer.*

Soldiering, up to the present time, has been divided by a great gulf into two castes—the private and the officer. Society looks askance upon the one and honors the other. While the sweepings and dregs of the state were long considered good enough material for that great, unreasoning, irresponsible engine of destruction called an Army, its direction and control was the privilege of aristocracy and social position. The political and social relations of the past, coupled with the arbitrary and violent conditions of military service, combined to widen the immense disparity between the commander and commanded—the officer and the private soldier—and to set the tradition of subordination into a mould not essentially different from that of absolute despotism.

For the purpose of the present discussion, it is not necessary to go further back than Frederick the Great, nor to other localities than Potsdam, for the basic character of the modern private soldier as perfected to its logical development by the military

genius of the German Staff. The beginning and end of this type is automatism, and its ideal fruit would be, for the private soldier, a mere human mechanism without will, initiative, independent thought, social status, or clearly defined rights; and, for the officer, a carefully and specially trained despot penetrated with self-sufficiency and pride of caste, and controlled by an artificial code of military ethics whose principal motive is to perpetuate the military caste and its hectic canons of military honor. Such an automaton might be a perfect piece of mechanism of its type, admirably adapted to its established function; and the officer, a highly intelligent and fearless autocrat of spotless integrity under his code; but they would represent a system of such tension, separated by such a gulf of estrangement, that the machine would surely be liable to collapse, with destructive results, under the corrosive influence of advancing social belief and independent opinion. Such military relations are becoming more and more an anachronism even under the strenuous and abnormal conditions of war; and, in a military system which, during long intervals of peace, coexists with the avocations of civil life, the contrast bids fair to become so irksome and galling as to threaten the very foundations of that discipline for which it is supposed to be a paramount necessity.

Shocking as it may seem to the military mind, trained under conditions of automatic discipline, it is nevertheless a fact that a change, very patent to the open-minded observer, has been wrought in military relations, partly by new conditions of fighting and partly by the genius of the period which has created a different *entente* between officer and man. The private has gained by force of necessity an individuality and initiative entirely at variance with the automatic idea. The American soldier acquired it first under the influence of his frontier training, which was a cross between that of the frontiersman or scout and the military machine; and it was greatly developed under the volunteer system of the war for the Union in 1861. It received further accession during the Spanish war, and is now awaiting the development of the reorganization of military polity and methods which will result from the lessons of the recent eastern conflict.

The vast size and complexity of modern armaments, under the system of compulsory and universal service, has created a mili-

tary status in times of peace heretofore unheard of. All nations are now compelled, to a greater or less extent, to live a military life all the time. An army, therefore, has two distinct existences—one of peace and one of war—and, of the two, the former is far more protracted. Indeed, many of the armies of men now organized live their allotted lives and resolve into their civil elements without having experienced the hostile activities which are their reason for being. The soldier has, therefore, under these circumstances to live a wholly fictitious existence, under artificial restraints which are endurable with patience only under the stress of the vital issues of war. Under despotic governments and traditions, the rigid discipline of separateness and inferiority could be enforced at all times, and more frequent wars gave it rational use and meaning; but with longer intervals of peace and the passing of autocracy will it be possible to continue these traditions? I think not. I do not believe it desirable to do so even from the military viewpoint.

Our war of '61 did more to dignify the private soldier and change his social status than any other event in modern history. The citizen soldier submitting to disciplinary restraint and transformed into a perfectly tractable, submissive and, at the same time, self-respecting private, and returning quietly without disorder or loss of social caste to his civil life, preserving in a powerful and unique organization the memory of his military service, gave a status of dignity to the non-commissioned service of arms which it never possessed before. That self-respecting dignity is a vastly more important asset than any conceivable degree of arbitrary inferiority and subservience, and is susceptible of a higher grade and more effective disciplinary development. This discipline of the automatic system was that of the state prison and the lock-step, and it was naturally quite willing to recruit from the slums and the criminal classes. It rested upon caste, and it degraded the private soldier in his own eyes and that of society, for it is impossible to take from a man individuality, initiative and independent personal accountability without reducing him to the status of a child or a prisoner.

Under the French Republic and the levelling influences of the period there sprung up a certain *bonhomie* between the officer

and soldier which was continued under Napoleon by the principle of "the career open to talent," and the stimulating fiction of the Marshal's baton in each knapsack; and no armies ever excelled these in patriotism, enthusiasm, discipline under stress, and splendid accomplishment—just as in later years our volunteer armies showed superlative degrees of all these qualities.

The problem of to-day and the future is how to preserve these fundamentals of patriotism, pride in the military profession, subordination to authority, and discipline in military performance during the long periods of peace training, without the sacrifice of individuality, initiative or self-respect, and to do this in competition with civil pursuits. Is the Army to rely upon the drifting and uncertain body of the unemployed, social failures and tramps, fluctuating in number according to periods of commercial distress or prosperity, and hired for the national service at a wage less than that of unskilled labor in prosperous times? Is it to offer its service as a sort of forlorn hope for the desperate, and a last resort for the poor devil who is down on his luck, or the ne'er-do-well runaway from home?

To a considerable extent it has done this in the past, and it has been able to redeem the residuary manhood in most of these derelicts by restoring their tone in the grand school of Nature on our frontier, and to weld this material into as fine a military tool as was ever produced. These activities attracted also a class of recruits quite different from the proletariat described, hardy and adventurous men to whom the frontier and its excitements offered irresistible attractions.

But we are facing new conditions: the frontier as a war school has vanished into history, and the future American soldier can no longer be trained there. He has to be trained under the operation of powerful social solvents during humdrum conditions of peace, in contact with civilization, or in the police service of the Tropics. His service as a soldier has to compete with the attractions and opportunities of civil life. Whatever there is of adventure is, during peace times, no longer in service, but out of it. In service is to be found arbitrary restraint, irksome subordination, tedious iteration of manœuvre, and periods of inaction without freedom. Furthermore, the peace service presents no future that attracts—

only the uncertain warrant of a "non-com.," with a slight increase of pay, and the vague possibility of a commission. It is urged that it offers a certainty of living—a bare competence which offsets the uncertainty of civil opportunity and freedom. But this is just what does not appeal to the man of energy and individuality. It appeals only at the period of young manhood to the lazy and inefficient, and its attractions generate only the "old soldier" of the barnacle type. With only these motives, and minus the frontier, it is quite certain that the country will get a poor return even for the meagre investment it makes. It will get perfunctory, inept, restless service. The percentage of desertions will continue to increase, which tendency is in itself a demoralizing and corrupting influence: discipline will degrade into a police matter with resentment as its spirit; and, except in times of depression, recruiting will be unable to fill the vacancies, and for the maintenance of its military peace establishment the Great Republic will be confronted by the unpleasant alternative of conscription.

The large percentage of desertions in a standing army in time of peace is a good criterion of the inadequacy of its opportunities. In our own Army this percentage has always been, with some exceptions, very large. The following table compiled by Captain Charles D. Rhodes of the General Staff will show its fluctuations:

Fiscal Year ending June 30	Enlisted Strength Army	Number Desertions	Per Cent.	Convictions			Ratio of surrendered to ap- prehensions	Ratio of convictions to deser- tions
				Surren- dered	Appre- hended	Total		
1885	24,731	2,927	11.8			674		.23
1886	24,143	2,090	8.6			426		.20
1887	24,394	2,240	9.1			318		.14
1888	24,687	2,244	9.9			389		.16
1889	25,307	2,835	11.1			443		.15
1890	24,921	2,344	9.4			346		.15
1891	24,183	1,503	6.2			393		.26
1892	24,700	1,382	5.5	131	295	426	.44	.30
1893	25,361	1,682	6.6	126	395	521	.32	.31
1894	25,788	1,073	4.1	179	339	518	.52	.48
1895	25,018	1,165	4.6	123	132	255	.93	.22
1896	24,869	1,365	5.4	91	105	256	.55	.18
1897	25,353	1,051	4.1	105	139	244	.75	.23
1898	45,609			57	119	176	.48	
1899	62,258	2,994	4.8	38	136	174	.28	.06
1900	65,609	2,863	4.3	Not	recorded	444		.15
1901	78,646	3,110	4.3	102	452	554	.22	.17
1902	70,990	4,667	6.5	233	848	1,081	.27	.23
1903	64,627	5,034	7.8	280	831	1,111	.33	.22
1904	59,807	5,873	9.8	241	795	1,036	.30	.17
1905	63,022	6,533	10.3					

Note 1.—No records previous to 1820. From 1820 to 1861 the per cent. of desertions averaged 14.8.

Note 2.—In report of the Military Secretary for 1903, he states that the reports of desertions for the years 1899 to 1903 are misleading, as representing the gross number of desertions without deducting those apprehended or surrendered during those years.

It will be noted that, prior to 1861, the average percentage was enormous. And since 1885 it has twice been almost as much—considerably larger than at present—although 1904 and 1905 show marked increase over recent years.

It would be interesting to correlate these fluctuations with social and commercial phenomena in an endeavor to locate their causes, but the fact would still remain that the best are bad, and the worst deplorable. If the service were sound in principle and operation there would practically be no desertions. That it is not sound is without question, and fundamentally due to its inharmonic relation to environment. It is out of key with the natural order, and so soon as it ceased to be artificially upheld by conscription and brute force it would disintegrate from intrinsic causes; and, unless it is brought into accord with social conditions, it will go from bad to worse.

The problem is: *How change the conditions of military service so as to transform this service into a privilege—a career with sufficient attractions to render discharge a punishment instead of a temptation; with functions that shall interest and stimulate instead of repelling and wearying; with prospects which will inspire hope and competition; and with results to the country which will have a maximum value in time of war?*

I believe the answer to this question is largely one of pay, sordid and unsentimental as this may appear. I believe the only way to a satisfactory military product in time of peace is through self-interest—in other words, to pay a fair price for it. The country in its military industry must compete with other industries, and it must provide a career which stimulates and rewards in proportion to ability and effort, and which interests the individual by a self-interest sufficiently strong to make failure distinctly a punishment in itself. This is not so sordid as it looks. It is simply a matter of injecting into the enlisted service the same motives that operate in the ordinary walks of life, and which are operative already in the commissioned service. Men do not enlist in the service of their country during peace times through patriotism. They will seek service either for the food, lodging and small pay offered as a temporary makeshift in adversity; or they will enlist for a

career offering a fair return for ability and industry, with certain opportunities for advancement. The latter will be worth their hire; the others will be no longer so, even though they were made so in past years.

Happily war is no longer *ultima ratio regum* in the sense that it is their plaything; the instrument of their ambitions or their dynastic quarrels. Men will no longer pour out their blood for the apotheosis of a Bourbon or the romantic sentiment attached to a wandering Stuart. Both the humanitarianism and the practical sense of the times are coming to regard war as a major operation of political surgery demanded when international differences become so inflamed as to beget the fever of battle and the delirium of political or commercial covetousness for which the medicine of reason is ineffective; and military preparation looked at as a business proposition with which sentiment has little to do—an unfortunate but necessary safeguard demanded by the present temper of society, like a system of jurisprudence and police. It is only the fanatics of universal peace who asperse the military profession. The sober-minded apostles of arbitration recognize that war is a symptom and not a disease, and that the profession of arms has its temporary justification in the same pathologic conditions of society that compel a penal code and municipal police.

But it is an enormous gain that war has come to be so regarded and has progressed from the status of being the national sport of mankind to that of an agency of last resort for the settlement of acute international disputes. In this progress it is being stripped of romance and picturesqueness, so that bloodshed is no longer to be pretty in its accessories, and the ghastly body of war will cease to be clad in pomp and circumstance. That grave men do not deck themselves in preposterous clothes and wear feathers on their heads when they go to battle marks a distinct change of attitude towards the military idea; and let us hope that it may speedily result in demonstrating the absurdity of rivaling the circus band in a soldier's tailoring in time of peace; although in laying hands upon gold lace we violate one of the most ancient canons of the art which prescribes war paint as the most powerful lure to glory—a bait for the recruit and a stimulus to the soldier which serves as an

offset to small pay, hard fare and harsh environment, and by its conquering power over the fair sex forms his most precious perquisite. In point of fact, this last is the most potent of all the influences which preserve it from the destroying hand of common sense.

But, all the same, the lure has no lasting power, and very surely men, in this practical age, who can be enticed and held to a trade by means of such petty vanity are not of a class worth having. It is not the color of a uniform which will keep a man from disgracing it, and to put the inducements to a military career on a level with those of the circus ring is to assume its grade on that level. As a matter of fact, the Army can no longer be recruited nor satisfied by such unsubstantial inducements.

THE PROJECT

I would urge that the Army be converted into a military school, in a true sense, for the enlisted man as well as the officer, and the enlisted man paid as much as the mechanic laborer in civil life, grading his pay according to his corps in the service—the infantryman at least as much as the day laborer; the cavalryman as much as an expert groom; the artillery and ordnance as much as high-grade mechanics; the engineers as much as assistants of railways or civil engineers—young graduates of technical schools.

Pay all non-commissioned grades much higher than the privates, in proportion to the responsibility and ability demanded by their position, and provide that the work exacted shall be sufficient in amount and variety to keep the men busily employed for a fair working day, with adequate relaxation and amusement, and that it shall comprise theoretical military instruction for both non-commissioned officers and privates in the artillery, cavalry and infantry arms, in addition to thorough practical instruction of such a degree as to insure to the privates the course now provided for non-commissioned officers; and, for the non-commissioned officers, the equivalent of that now demanded for examination for promotion to commissioned rank. In the engineer, artillery and ordnance corps, in a similar manner, theoretical instruction, both technical and military, should be of a grade considerably more advanced than that in the other corps, and the whole active personnel should be freed from the incubus of non-military labor by the pro-

vision of a special Army Service Corps for all work which does not come within the purview of a soldier's duties.

In the United States concentrate troops into a few carefully selected posts, well built and equipped with first-class gymnasia and all necessary buildings for theoretical instruction, and establish the recruiting system upon a thorough and exacting basis, which shall require mental as well as physical and moral standards, permitting but one re-enlistment except in special cases.

Provide that all promotions to commissions in the Regular Army other than those from the Military Academy shall be from enlisted men rating highest in theoretical, practical and moral attainment in the different branches of the Regular Army; and guarantee to each honorably discharged enlisted man who shall have achieved a certain standard of proficiency in theoretical and practical instruction, and whose record is of the requisite grade, a commission as Lieutenant or Captain in the volunteer service in time of war, according to recommendation as above described upon discharge. The certificate of proficiency upon discharge papers would be equivalent to a military diploma, and would be of great value to the soldier in obtaining civil employment and positions of responsibility. Such an uplifting of the status, functions and objectives of the enlisted career would tend to diminish the austerity of the social relations between the enlisted and commissioned soldier and to substitute a less humiliating distinction, more of the nature of that existing between the cadets of the Military Academy and their instructors.

The effect of such a scheme would be fundamental and revolutionary. First of all, it would reverse the attitude of the soldier towards his profession, and, in place of the sense of coercion and imprisonment, generating a desire for escape, would be substituted a sense of responsibility and the dread of dismissal. Desertion would only occur as an escape from criminal action; discharge would become a severe punishment; discipline would thereby be more easily enforced, and every man would be on his mettle to make good his title to remain in the service. The difference in motive would be the same as that between the spirit of convict and of free labor inspired by hope and ambition.

It would entirely change the grade of the enlisted personnel—the lazy, the vicious and the illiterate would be excluded. In the Line would be found a class of intelligent, ambitious, young fellows of at least fair schooling, interspersed with still higher grade men, seeking the well-paid “non-com.” positions; and, in the artillery, ordnance and engineers, many of the expert mechanic class, together with a considerable number of graduates of technical schools to whom the pay and training of military service for a term of years and the possibility of commission would be a strong attraction.

It would change the attitude of the public towards the military profession, and create a respect for and pride in the national soldier and his trade, which, by natural reaction, would stimulate his self-respect and soldierly dignity, and thereby pride and self-interest would be substituted as motives for discipline and subordination, instead of fear and punishment. Instead of demoralizing his energies and rendering him unfit for steady work in civil occupations military service would restore him to civil life improved and developed mentally, morally and physically—an orderly and conservative element in society.

It would develop individuality and initiative, and provide a body of 60,000 intelligent, highly trained soldiers available for any emergency—the great majority of whom, in addition to the many thousands scattered through the civil walks of life, would make good junior commissioned officers for volunteer forces, while a very considerable number would be second only to the graduates of the Military Academy in their qualifications for such commissions.

Examining these propositions a little more in detail:

1. The conversion of the standing army into a school for all is only a logical development of its reason for existence. Heretofore its function as a school has been mainly for the commissioned officer, the private being schooled very little further than his mechanical functions demanded. By raising his status and enlarging his range of instruction the whole Army becomes a real school of officers for war. In time of peace it has no proper occupation which takes precedence of this in importance to the state or in jus-

tification of its existence. The nature and amount of instruction to be given to the privates and non-commissioned officers in the different arms of the service is a matter of too much detail and study to be discussed here. The theoretical instruction given in the technical corps, such as Engineers, Ordnance and Artillery, would, of course, be much more technical and advanced than that given in the Line; and the school for privates would be more elementary in either case than in that for non-commissioned officers. A schedule for the employment of time for winter and summer for each Post of Instruction would have to be worked out, as has already been done in certain cases under present conditions.

2. The matter of pay is the root of sound and lasting reform. The present schedule of pay for enlisted men has not changed to any important extent since before the Civil War. The most notable improvement has been the provision of retiring pension, which has been some added inducement for first enlistment, but more especially so for re-enlistment. Its value to the service under present conditions is somewhat dubious, since it more especially affects the type of man who lacks ability and ambition and who is content to pass a lifetime in the dull routine of ordinary garrison service for the sake of the pension. Under the system here proposed, however, retirement pensions should be confined to non-commissioned grades, for the reason that it is not desirable to offer to the private soldier inducements for life service. It is better that the Army should be constantly educating fresh material.

It has been attempted to demonstrate that the present pay of the private is the equivalent of that of the average mechanic. It does not appear to me to be demonstrable either as a matter of absolute or relative fact. The pay and allowances of a private of infantry or cavalry per year of his first enlistment average as follows under present conditions:

Pay at \$13.00 per month	\$156.00
Clothing (average for three years).....	53.70
Ration (at 20c. per diem).....	73.00
Coal (at 3,400 lbs. per year at \$5 per ton).....	7.50
Light (at rate of 8½ gallons mineral oil per year at 17½c....	1.48
Total	291.68
(313 working days—equal to 93c. per diem.)	

To this should be added the value of shelter and medical attendance. The latter is not, however, in view of free hospital service in cities, of any assignable advantage to the unmarried man and may be neglected; and the shelter given by the company barrack squad room is not high class or attractive, and with its disciplinary restraints and compulsory hours ranks in the eyes of most men on a par with city lodging houses and police stations. Equally good can be secured for 25c. per diem or less, which would, at a liberal estimate, increase the pay by \$91 per year—making a grand total of \$382.68, or \$1.22 per working day.

This is less than the wage of the day laborer continuously employed, or rather less than that of the gardener or man of all work about a house, continuously employed. For the latter, \$25 or \$30 per month, with board and lodging, is commonly asked. Against this approximate equivalence must be set the sense of restraint and inferiority; the total loss of liberty; the dullness and monotony of ordinary garrison routine; the lack of steady and sufficient employment all the time. But even if the equivalence is admitted, it is not to the point. The soldier should be a higher grade of human. He should have more intelligence than a roustabout or man of all work. He should have latent the potentiality of the commissioned officer, and it would be a cheap investment for the country to double his pay to achieve such an immense gain in the value of the output of its standing army. As a matter of fact, this is what is proposed in the schedule of pay given on next page—practically to double the pay of the enlisted man.

This table is little more than a suggestion, and it does not pretend to be a studied revision. The exact apportionment of pay in the different arms should in any case be determined by experts.

It will be observed that the average increase throughout is somewhat more than double the present pay. In some cases, as in those of non-commissioned officers of artillery, it is about three times, but this is the result of giving them the same status as those of engineers, which would seem to be justified by the technical character of the work of the artillery under modern conditions, and the great importance of having mechanical and electrical experts in these positions.

TABLE OF MONTHLY PAY OF ENLISTED MEN OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY.

The first column of figures in each division gives proposed pay; the second column pay as already established.

NAME AND SERVICE.	First two years		Third year	Fourth year	Fifth year and re-enlisted pay	\$3 per month after 5 years' service		\$4 per month after 15 years' service		\$5 per month after 25 years' service		\$6 per month after 35 years' service		\$7 per month after 45 years' service (a)	
<i>Regiment, Corps, Battalion.</i>															
Battalion sergeant major—Engineers.....	75-36	77-37	79-38		88-39	88-41	88-42	88-43		88-44		88-45		89-46	
Battalion quartermaster sergeant—Engineers.....															
Sergeant major—Cavalry, Infantry.....	65-34	67-35	69-36		72-37	75-39	76-40	77-41		78-42		79-43		80-44	
Quartermaster sergeant—Cavalry, Infantry.....															
Commissary sergeant—Cavalry, Infantry.....	75-34	75-35	79-36		82-37	85-39	86-42	87-41		88-42		89-45		90-44	
Senior sergeant major—Artillery.....															
Squadron sergeant major—Cavalry.....	55-25	57-26	59-27		62-28	65-30	66-31	67-32		68-33		69-34		70-35	
Battalion sergeant major—Infantry.....															
Color sergeant—Cavalry, Infantry.....	65-25	67-													
Junior sergeant major—Artillery.....															
<i>Company, Troop, Battery.</i>															
Sergeant, first-class—Signal Corps.....	75-45	77-46	79-47		82-48	85-50	86-51	87-52		88-53		89-54		90-55	
Sergeant—Engineers, Ordnance, Signal Corps.....	65-34	67-35	69-36		72-37	75-39	76-40	77-41		78-42		79-43		80-44	
Quartermaster sergeant—Engineers.....	70-34	72-35	74-36		77-37	80-39	81-40	82-41		83-42		84-43		85-44	
First sergeant—Engineers.....	70-34	72-35	74-36		77-37	80-39	81-40	82-41		83-42		84-43		85-44	
First sergeant—Artillery.....	70-35	72-36	74-37		77-38	80-40	81-41	82-42		83-43		84-44		85-45	
First sergeant—Cavalry, Infantry.....	50-25	52-26	54-27		57-28	60-30	61-31	62-32		63-33		64-34		65-35	
Corporal—Engineers, Ordnance, Signal Corps.....	45-20	47-21	49-22		52-23	55-25	56-26	57-27		58-28		59-29		60-30	
Cook—Engineers, Signal Corps.....	30-20	32-21	34-22		37-23	40-25	41-26	42-27		43-28		44-29		45-30	
Sergeant—Artillery.....	55-18	57-19	59-20		62-21	65-23	66-24	67-25		68-26		69-27		70-28	
Sergeant—Cavalry, Infantry.....	45-18	47-19	49-20		51-21	54-23	55-24	56-25		57-26		58-27		59-28	
Quartermaster sergeant—Artillery.....	70-18	72-19	74-20		77-21	80-23	81-24	82-25		83-26		84-27		85-28	
Quartermaster sergeant—Cavalry, Infantry.....	45-18	47-19	49-20		52-21	55-23	56-24	57-25		58-26		59-27		60-28	
Cook—Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry.....	30-18	32-19	34-20		37-21	40-23	41-24	42-25		43-26		44-27		45-28	
Mechanic—Coast Artillery.....	45-18	47-19	49-20		52-21	55-23	56-24	57-25		58-26		59-27		60-28	
Stable sergeant—Field Artillery.....	45-18	47-19	49-20		52-21	55-23	56-24	57-25		58-26		59-27		60-28	
Private, first-class—Engineers, Ordnance, Signal Corps.....	40-17	42-18	44-19		47-20	50-22	51-23	52-24		53-25		54-26		55-27	
Artificer—Field Artillery.....	45-15	47-16	49-17		52-18	55-20	56-21	57-22		58-23		59-24		60-25	
Artificer—Infantry.....	35-15	37-16	39-17		42-18	45-20	46-21	47-22		48-23		49-24		50-25	
Farrier, blacksmith, saddler—Cavalry.....	35-15	37-16	39-17		42-18	45-20	46-21	47-22		48-23		49-24		50-25	
Corporal—Artillery.....	45-15	47-16	49-17		52-18	55-20	56-21	57-22		58-23		59-24		60-25	
Corporal—Cavalry, Infantry.....	35-15	37-16	39-17		42-18	45-20	46-21	47-22		48-23		49-24		50-25	
Wagoner—Cavalry.....	20-14	22-15	24-16		27-17	30-19	31-20	32-21		33-22		34-23		35-24	
Trumpeter—Cavalry.....	20-13	22-14	24-15		27-16	30-18	31-19	32-20		33-21		34-22		35-23	
Musician—Artillery, Engineers.....	20-13	22-14	24-15		27-16	30-18	31-19	32-20		33-21		34-22		35-23	
Private—Cavalry, Infantry.....	30-13	32-14	34-15		37-16	40-18	41-19	42-20		43-21		44-22		45-23	
Private, second-class—Engineers, Ordnance.....	35-13	37-14	39-15		42-16	45-18	46-19	47-20		48-21		49-22		50-23	
Private—Artillery.....	40-13	42-14	44-15		47-16	50-18	51-19	52-20		53-21		54-22		55-23	
Private—Signal Corps.....	40-13	42-14	44-15		47-16	50-18	51-19	52-20		53-21		54-22		55-23	

The special features of this scheme are:

First—The substantial pay proper given to privates of all arms.

Second—The relatively high pay of non-commissioned officers.

Third—The allowance of but one re-enlistment to privates, except in the Engineer, Ordnance and Signal Corps, whose numbers are small and whose duties are those of expert specialists.

Taking the pay of the Line private at \$30 per month, and increasing the rations to 25c., the average aggregate for the first year would be as follows:

Pay at \$30 per month	\$360.00
Clothing (average for three years)	53.70
Rations (at 25c.)	91.25
Coal (approximately)	7.50
Light	1.48
Lodging (estimated 25c. per diem)	91.25
	<hr/>
	\$605.18

This gives \$1.93 per diem for 313 working days.

The Artillery, Engineer, Ordnance and Signal private will receive at the rate of \$2.31 per diem; an artificer in these corps \$2.50. A First Sergeant of Artillery and Engineers would receive at the rate of \$3.46 per diem; a First Sergeant of Cavalry and Infantry, \$2.70. All of these figures are really below those of high-grade mechanics in civil life, but the advantage, of course, lies in steady employment. Carpenters and masons get from \$3 to \$4 and \$4.50 per diem; skilled machinists from \$3 to \$5, and even higher, and obtain steady employment in manufacturing establishments.

At first glance this rate of pay will doubtless seem excessive to those familiar with the pittance given in the foreign armies. It will be said that the pay of the non-commissioned staff exceeds that of junior commissioned officers in Continental service. Quite true; it does so already in some cases. But this is not to the point. We are a republic, with a volunteer army, and the rule of public service is to pay a fair competence to those in its employ. Furthermore, it is here proposed to make our small high-paid standing army virtually a school of officers, and by so doing avoid the

necessity of a large army of conscripts. It is a much cheaper proposition for us to give high pay to an army of 60,000, which is capable in ten years of returning to civil life a body of between 50,000 and 100,000 men, competent for junior commissions and non-com. warrants in our volunteer levies, than to pay half the sum for the reluctant service of a relatively low grade of automatic soldiers, who either leave the Army with little more intelligence than they brought to it, or else remain until retirement military petrefactions—dull, faithful and inert.

The high pay of the non-coms. has a quadruple value. It insures a high grade of men both in character and intelligence for these extremely important positions; it gives a strong inducement to men of good education to enlist; it gives tangible objectives within its own field for the ambition of the private soldier; and it keeps the non-coms. on their mettle to retain their positions.

The restriction to one re-enlistment is in accord with the function of the Army as a school. When a school has performed its office the pupil should be discharged and others should be admitted. It is desirable to educate as many as possible, and a soldier who has been six years in the service as a private has received all that the service is capable of giving him and should make room for others. *The Army should be a vigorous, effective engine for the manufacture of competent soldiers, working hard all the time to improve its product, and grinding out a steady stream of graduates.* It should not be a dull body of reluctant military day laborers, hired for temporary and perfunctory work, useless to society and themselves, after the stupefaction of a few years' routine. It might be desirable to authorize the retention of certain men beyond the limit of two years, when especially recommended as valuable experts in any special line. Non-coms. should be allowed re-enlistment to retirement and should be required to pass examinations at each re-enlistment. They form the expert, stable element of the service—the backbone of discipline and instruction.

It will doubtless be asked—How will officers provide for the instruction of the privates and “non-coms.” and attend their own service schools in addition to company duty? This is already done to some extent, and schools are now provided for both “non-

coms." and privates. To enlarge the instruction as proposed would require an increase of officers sufficient to insure that all companies should at all times have a full complement of commissioned officers. There would then be an unattached list to which, in turn, officers would be detailed for service at the special schools and the Military Academy, or elsewhere.

The concentration of troops in large bodies at a few posts would not only facilitate theoretical instruction in winter, but would give opportunity every year for practical manœuvres on a reasonably large scale—a matter of inestimable importance to the entire service. Allowing 15,000 men for Philippine service, there would remain for home station 45,000 men, of whom approximately 30,000 could be stationed at large garrisons. If these were divided among five to ten posts there would be available for manœuvre from 5,000 to 3,000 men in as many different parts of the country, forming permanent camps of instruction to which would segregate each year a certain number of the national militia. The reduction of the number of posts is also greatly in the interests of economy as well as of effectiveness.

There would surely result: economy in transportation of men and material; in purchase and handling of supplies; in military office administration—both in clerical staff and in saving of time through directness of communication; in inspection of commands by commanding general and staff officers; in number, construction and care of buildings; in the feeding of troops in large bodies; and in the amount of Quartermaster's supplies required for maintenance.

Among numerous advantages the most conspicuous are: the constant presence of the Commanding General with the personnel of his command—all general officers would be frequently in active command of considerable bodies of troops in the field, and brigadiers would be continually in active command of brigades; the preservation of the units of command through which regiments would be kept together, and Field and Line officers would exercise command in normal relation, while regimental esprit would be stimulated, and every Colonel enabled to assume the responsibility for discipline and efficiency of his regiment; the immense advan-

tage of permanent association of mixed bodies of troops in considerable number for the study of problems of minor and major tactics, which would also render unnecessary special appropriations of large sums for the concentration for manœuvre from remote stations of scattered troops; the increased efficiency through concentration of material and supplies and different arms of service, in the use of troops for any emergency; and the great value of such large posts as nuclei for the formation of camps of organization and the instruction of volunteers in time of war.

Under existing conditions the concentration of the Army in ten posts of instruction might be located in the vicinity of cities as follows:

Military Division of the East.....	New York-Boston
Military Division of Washington.....	Washington-Cincinnati
Military Division of the South.....	Atlanta-San Antonio
Military Division of the West.....	Chicago-Denver
Military Division of the Pacific.....	San Francisco-Portland

The Divisions would be commanded by Major-Generals, and the Posts by Brigadier-Generals. This would afford active commands for five of the former and ten of the latter, in addition to the commands in Alaska and the Philippines.

The grievous defect as an instrument of military education of the small peace establishment, widely scattered, lies in its inability to afford its personnel the opportunity for studying and practicing the major operations of war, or even its larger minor problems. At the outset of both our Civil and Spanish wars we were badly handicapped by the lack of officers who had had experience in commanding even moderate bodies of troops. I believe that I am correct in stating that not one officer of the Regular Army, save Scott, at the outbreak of the Civil War had ever handled a brigade of troops in the field; and the same was true, if I am not mistaken, with two exceptions, at the beginning of the Spanish War. Whether exact or not, these statements are so near the truth as to illustrate actual conditions. It becomes of the first importance, therefore, if the Army is to be made an efficient medium of in-

struction that, no matter what its size, it should be concentrated in as few garrisons as possible; and that it should be so fully officered as to insure complete equipment for every organization. Relying as we must upon volunteer levies for war, it becomes the necessary function of the standing army to produce officers; and the disproportionate number of officers in time of peace is simply a logical and proper corollary of its function as a school. With the large body of capable officers available, volunteer levies can quickly be made effective. Without officers, mere masses of men are futile.

One other point of the highest importance to be borne in mind in such an organization of the service is the fact that it becomes a school of education in good citizenship and turns out a steady stream of intelligent, active, disciplined men of high character, well able to take care of themselves and to fill with credit responsible positions in civil life. The country instead of looking askance upon its army as a useless burden in time of peace, whose individuals are undesirable neighbors in a community, and worthless to her industrial system after discharge, would find an enduring pride in it as one of the most valuable correctives to the laxity of modern habits of thought and living and the demoralizing influence of an excessive commercialism.

I repeat again that all these considerations render the question of expense of no moment. If a few additional millions of dollars can insure such a revolution in a standing army as I anticipate there is no way in which it can be so profitably invested. No nation on earth can so well afford it; no nation is more better qualified to lead the way to such a regeneration of military service; none is so fitted as the great republic of the New World to be the pioneer in a move which makes the military service an engine of civil and industrial value—a school of morals, of manners, of good citizenship, and of industrial usefulness. Such a school teaches matters of more worth to the community than the most dazzling career of commercial success—discipline and regularity of habits, respect for authority, obedience, vigor of body, simplicity of life, truth-telling, integrity, personal accountability, self-denial, loyalty and reverence for law.

THE ANTHRACITE MINE WORKERS AND THEIR DEMANDS

PETER ROBERTS

THERE are about 160,000 mine employees in the anthracite collieries, who annually produce some 67,000,000 tons of coal. The operations are scattered over 1,700 square miles of territory, wherein reside about 750,000 souls. Anthracite is consumed in nearly every state in the Union, but if a line be drawn in a northeastward direction from Buffalo to St. John's River in Maine, thence following the state line in a southeasterly direction to the Atlantic Ocean, thence in a southerly direction, including all seaboard territory as far as Washington, D. C., and thence back to Buffalo—an area of about 140,000 square miles—we enclose a territory wherein nearly 90 per cent. of the product of anthracite collieries is consumed. A population of more than 19,000,000 lives in this area, 73 per cent. of whom reside in incorporated places of more than 1,000 population. Nearly 50,000,000 tons of anthracite are annually consumed in the homes and the factories in which these people live and work. More than 3,000,000 families depend upon it for heat, and by it most of the wheels of the factories which produce about 50 per cent. of our manufactured goods are revolved. It is the favorite domestic fuel and cannot be duplicated. The smaller sizes are used in manufacturing plants, and come into competition with bituminous coal, but municipal regulations in large cities favor this product of a natural monopoly by compelling manufacturers to use smokeless fuel.

When, in 1902, the anthracite mine workers were on strike, the price of coal stored in stock yards rose to more than four times its normal market price. Distress came to thousands of homes dependent upon this fuel for domestic purposes. Oil stoves, gasoline and gas ranges were substituted, but the makeshifts only emphasized the absolute dependence of the above millions upon anthracite. The inconvenience suffered by the inhabitants of the North Atlantic group of states gave occa-

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sion to expressions of impatience, disgust and despair. Wives and daughters suffered "dreadful headaches"; fathers and sons, tired with the day's work, grew sleepy around the oil stove, but their sleep was not refreshing. Municipal ordinances against the use of soft coal were suspended, and over eastern manufacturing centres and large cities hung a dark pall that hid the clear blue sky, and magnificent buildings and stately monuments put on a garment of mourning. There was great suffering in homes. The poor paid a cent a pound for coal. A fuel famine raged, and if the authors of this social wrong had not agreed to arbitrate their differences before the approach of winter, there is no telling to what extremities the enraged millions of our Eastern cities would have been driven.

Three years have passed since the fuel famine raged, and the supply of anthracite has been steady and abundant. Soon, however, the agreement made by the Coal Strike Commission's awards will terminate, and the shadow of another possible strike disturbs the industrial and commercial life of anthracite communities. The mine workers say, "We will not cut coal after March 31, 1906, under the agreement of 1902." The operators say, "We will renew the agreement, but will not concede to any more demands." In these two positions lies material enough to kindle the fires of strife, and, although each side is anxious to avoid the responsibility of disturbing the present prosperous condition of the industry, the possibility of another industrial conflict is probable. The purpose of this article is to consider:

- (1) The Demands of the Mine Workers.
- (2) The Operators and the Miners' Demands.
- (3) The Public and the Miners' Demands.

I

The mine workers have two leading demands: (a) Recognition of the Miners' Union, (b) The eight-hour day for company will renew the agreement, but will not concede to any more demands, such as modification of the Board of Conciliation, uniformity of wages, etc.

The first demand is "The recognition of the union by the anthracite operators." This means, according to John Mitchell, president of the mine workers, the willingness of the operators to meet the representatives of the union to discuss the question of wages and conditions of employment, in order to find a common ground upon which to carry on the business of mining. He claims this, not as a favor, or a charity, but as a right. When the operators ended the strike of 1900 by posting notices at the collieries of a 10 per cent. advance, the labor chief describes their action as follows: "Instead of fairly meeting the men face to face and arranging by joint agreement the wages, hours of labor and conditions of work in the region, the operators simply posted notices upon their breakers and towers, and the men accepted the concession . . . which was flung at them rather than granted to them." (Pp. 368 and 370, *Organized Labor*.) Before the Coal Strike Commission he said: "The miners have as much right to select spokesmen to act for them, to present their grievances, to manage their affairs, as have the stockholders of any one of the anthracite coal companies to select officers to perform like functions. . . . We make this demand because we know that permanent peace and friendly relations can be best maintained through a trade agreement with the organization our people have selected to join." Mr. Mitchell, last fall, in his speaking campaign through the anthracite region, again said that there will be no permanent peace in the industry until the union is recognized.

Since the advent of the United Mine Workers of America into the anthracite region this demand has been foremost in its programme. After the strike of 1900, "the officers of the union . . . were imbued with the hope that a year later the operators would enter into contractual relations with the union." In the following year John Mitchell, together with the three district presidents of the anthracite mine workers, met Senator Mark Hanna and E. B. Thomas, president of the Erie Railroad, in New York City. They agreed to continue the agreement of 1900 for another year, and the "representatives of the mine workers left the conference with the hope, if not the anticipation, that the union would ultimately be recognized."

In 1902 the same demand was made to incorporate "in the form of an agreement the wages that shall be paid and the conditions of employment that shall obtain for a specific period." The operators, however, when they submitted a scheme of arbitration to President Roosevelt, explicitly stated that "they are not willing to enter into arbitration with the Mine Workers' Union." Mr. Mitchell, notwithstanding this explicit statement, advanced a fourth demand before the Coal Strike Commission: "The incorporation in an agreement between the United Mine Workers of America and the anthracite coal companies of the wages which shall be paid and the conditions of employment which shall obtain, together with satisfactory methods for the adjustment of grievances which may arise from time to time, to the end that strikes and lockouts may be unnecessary." The Commission declined to make an award upon this demand, for it did not consider that the question of the recognition of the United Mine Workers of America is within the scope of the jurisdiction conferred upon it by the submission," but it was convinced "that the question of the recognition of the union and of dealing with the mine workers through their union was considered by both operators and miners to be one of the most important involved in the controversy which culminated in the strike." Thus the Commission passed into history and the demand of the anthracite mine workers for recognition was not granted.

Again the demand comes to the front. Thrice have the men asked for recognition and thrice have they been refused. The refusal on two occasions led to strikes. Will this fourth attempt result in industrial war? The labor leaders say, "There will not be permanent peace until recognition is granted." They wanted it that their hands may be strengthened in dealing with mine workers within and without the organization. If they are recognized by the operators as the media through which trade agreements are effected, they will be better able to control and discipline their followers, and they can bring greater pressure to bear upon the minority outside the organization, which ever draws from its ranks, and which ever threatens the standard rate of wages. Furthermore, their chance of establishing the check-off

system, whereby union dues are collected by the various companies, would be greatly enhanced—a desideratum for which labor leaders devoutly wish, for it would relieve them of much labor and anxiety.

The other demand is for an eight-hour day for all company men, with no reduction in the present rate of wages. The following classification of anthracite mine employees will show the classes involved in this demand:

Classes.	Inside the mines.	Classes.	Outside the mines.
Foremen	407	Superintendents	142
Assistants	296	Foremen	341
Fire-bosses	901	*Blacksmiths and Carpenters.....	2,518
Miners	39,848	Engineers and Firemen	5,240
Miners' laborers	31,217	*Slate pickers (boys)	12,128
*Drivers and runners	11,607	*Slate pickers (men)	5,599
*Door boys	3,173	Bookkeepers and Clerks	681
Pumpmen	953	*All other employees	24,319
*Company men	9,186		
*Other employees	12,774	Total	50,968
Total	110,362	Grand total	161,330

The classes of employees marked with an asterisk, who number 75,705, are the ones to be benefited by this demand. About 500 engineers who work breaker time, should be added, making a total of 76,205 or 47.2 per cent. of the total employees in and around the collieries. Hoisting engineers and pumpmen are not included in this number for the reason that their work is largely of the nature of piece-work and their working-time cannot be regulated by breaker time. Thus of the 161,330 employees, the demand for an eight-hour shift concerns less than half. This 76,205 concerned comprise all miners (about 25,000 in all) employed in and around the collieries, as well as the lowest-waged classes of adult employees inside and outside the mines.

It is said that the anthracite mine-workers do not work an average of eight hours a day. The Coal-Strike Commission reported that for a period of 258 days worked throughout the region in 1901, the average number of hours worked per day was 7.6. Its conclusion is set forth in the following words: "A study of the tables (submitted by the various companies of the time worked

per day by the breakers) shows comparatively few instances in which the breakers made full ten hours, while from six to nine hour days were the most numerous." (Pg. 55 Report.) Since the granting of the nine-hour day, employees in the Wyoming region have worked less than eight hours per day, while in the collieries in the Schuylkill region the average for company men would be a fraction more than eight hours. Thus the operators aver that the demand cannot mean a diminution in the hours of labor, but is an effort to secure an advance in wages.

The employees ask for eight hours on general principles and regard this demand as a part of the general movement of mine-workers of the civilized countries of the world. It is one of the ideals of trades unionism. It was one of the propositions submitted to the Miners' International Congress in 1904 and 1905 and "carried unanimously with the exception of Durham (England), neutral." The United Mine Workers of America are pledged to establish the eight-hour day in all mines under their control. The union has established it in those sections of the bituminous coal-fields where the mine workers are well organized, and the officers of the organization are anxious to bring the anthracite industry into line in order that they may the better realize their desire—to see a maximum eight-hour day established in the coal-mining industry of this continent. The rule, if once established, would mean that no breaker in the anthracite industry could work more than eight hours in any twenty-four. Many breakers now work nine hours a day. The mine workers believe that if a maximum eight-hour shift is established, the total number of days worked by company men will be more and their annual income larger.

The direct aim of the new agreement is to secure a larger annual income to company men, but the present agitation among anthracite employees is something more and deeper than a demand for increased pay to less than 50 per cent. of their number. The 160,000 wage-earners "stand pat" upon this demand. The solidarity of anthracite mine workers is remarkable and never has it found a more magnificent expression than in the present instance. The contract miners, 40,000 strong, who are the skilled workers

in the hard-coal industry, are championing the cause of the unskilled workers in their craft. The bond of union between these various classes of employees is admirable in its vicarious aspect and well worth the study of moralists. Miners and miners' laborers, more than 71,000 in number, willing to endure hardship for their fellow-man although no direct benefit accrues to them, is a spectacle that recalls the self-sacrifice and heroism of the age of chivalry, the main difference being that these men are ready to endure hardships for their fellows upon the pure foundation of fraternal union, while most men in the age of chivalry were moved by sentiments compounded in equal proportions of superstition and racial prejudice.

The above two demands are the ones upon which a conflict is most likely to occur. The mine workers are united upon them and desire them more strongly than personal gain or the love of ease. These thousands, representing some sixteen different nationalities, are bound into one compact body by ties that are stronger than self-interest. It is the psychological factor in the movement, a "consciousness of kind" as Professor Giddings calls it, which binds men of different tongues, of different antecedents, of different religious faiths, into one body, resolute to lock horns with the captains of industry in the anthracite business, whose interests they regard as antagonistic to their own. This psychological fact, in the present movement, may be profitably studied by anthracite operators.

The board of conciliation has rendered good service. It has checked the arrogance of both operator and operative and forced each party to choose its position more carefully for the reason that psychical and not physical force is now the final arbiter in labor disputes. Some 150 cases have been brought before the board. It disagreed upon fourteen of them, which were then submitted to an umpire. It disposed of 75 per cent. of the cases, nearly half of which were ruled out of court, and the remaining were decided in about equal proportion between the contending parties. Fifty per cent. of the cases related to wages and nearly 30 per cent. were either grievances of men out of work after the strike of 1902 or cases of discrimination. If we take the three districts accord-

ing to the amount of coal produced, the Lehigh region—the stronghold of individual operations—had 25 per cent. of cases and produces 10 per cent. of the anthracite output; the Wyoming region had the same percentage of cases and produces 50 per cent. of the coal marketed, and the Schuylkill region had 50 per cent. of cases and produces 40 per cent. of the output. Of the cases decided by the umpire, two-thirds favored the operators. Taking the work of the board of conciliation as a whole, and considering not only the number of cases tried, but also the importance of the decisions, the number of men involved and the total wages at stake, it is immediately seen that the operators have gained signal victories. In important cases, with rare exception, the decision is in favor of the operator. In suits at law much depends upon the presentation of the case, the care with which the ground of conflict is chosen, and skill in argument. The mine workers must recognize this and know that their success before the board largely depends upon the skill and knowledge of their advocates.

The employees, however, have faithfully adhered to the awards, and strikes and lockouts, with rare exception, have been eliminated. The years of the life of the awards have been years of peace and prosperity, and the board of conciliation has been a tribunal, accessible to all who have grievances to present, before which disputes are calmly discussed and adjusted according to the facts of the case. The mine workers think, however, that the board can be improved in its personnel and in its mode of procedure, in order that its judicial character may be enhanced, and its decisions be reached with greater dispatch. These modifications, however, will not be such as to precipitate a conflict. They touch neither wages nor profits, and both operators and operatives will undoubtedly agree without fear of suspending operations.

The labor leaders also wish greater uniformity in the wages of boys and men who perform like work in the anthracite breakers and collieries. The variation at present is great and leads to confusion and friction. If equal wages were paid for similar work in all collieries, unscrupulous operators could not then reduce the rate and disputes relative to standard rates could be more easily adjusted. The greatest variation is found among individual oper-

ators, for large corporations, who, for their own convenience, pay standard rates to classes of employees, although the standard rates of one corporation differ from those of another. The task of leveling the rates of wages throughout the anthracite industry will be very difficult and may prove irritating to operators who get their labor cheaper than others. It is not insurmountable, however, and need not be the occasion of a general strike.

THE OPERATORS AND THE MINERS' DEMANDS.

David Wilcox, President of the Delaware and Hudson Company, has lately given us a lucid statement of the position of the operators. He appeals to the awards of the Coal-Strike Commission, to the three past years of prosperity, and argues for a continuation of the present agreement. The Commission, three years ago, justified the operators in refusing to recognize the miners' union and endorsed their reasons for so doing. It advised the organization to remove the objectionable features pointed out by the operators. It recommended "an independent and autonomous organization" for the anthracite region; that "the districts in the anthracite region (be given) quite independent powers relative to the initiation of a strike," that "at least a two-thirds vote of all the delegates in the convention called for the purpose of considering the strike be necessary before it be undertaken, that the vote should be by ballot and not by show of hands or by voice," and that no "boys of immature age and judgment (should) participate in deciding the policy and actions of a labor union. We think that no one should have such voice in the affairs of a union, until he has reached his legal majority."

The mine workers have not accepted these recommendations. There is no independent and autonomous organization for the anthracite region; anthracite mine workers have no greater power to initiate a strike to-day than they had in 1902; John Mitchell and the national executive board—the majority of whom are identified with bituminous interests—are the final arbiters in deciding the question of strike or no strike; all questions are decided by a majority vote and mine workers like the open vote, by show of hands or by voice; the boys are still in the union and have a voice in its policy and actions; and the organization is not incorporated.

Thus the operators have as valid reasons in 1906 as they had in 1902 for not recognizing the union.

The opposition of operators to granting recognition is natural and based upon commercial instinct. Anthracite operators, like most other entrepreneurs, have a personal dislike of "labor agitators," and their business instinct rebels against recognizing an organization that assumes a right to equal authority with themselves in laying down conditions of operation in the industry under their control. The union has also been the means of wrenching from them more than they would give to wage-earners in and around the mines if they could realize the individualistic position held by them in treating with labor. The union also gives the individual worker conscious strength and encouragement to insist upon rates of wages and conditions of employment which he would not attempt if there were no organization back of him. Both foremen and superintendents are conscious of a power thrust into the business of mining that puts a check upon their commands and makes the enforcement of discipline more difficult. Hence we find inconsiderate youths saying: "John Mitchell is my boss," and the operators say, "We cannot have two masters in an industry." Three years of industrial peace have not mitigated the operators' opposition to the union, and the reasons advanced in 1902 being of equal validity to-day, they will not, if they can possibly help it, recognize the union in the coming spring.

Furthermore, the operators believe that recognition carries with it the closed-shop agreement and they aver that non-unionists have rights which must be maintained, and that their refusal to grant recognition is a stand in defense of personal liberty and freedom, whereby alone the award of the commission, "that no person shall be refused employment, or in any way discriminated against on account of membership or non-membership in any labor organization," can be maintained. The operators, in 1902, posed as defenders of individual liberty and the rights of citizenship, and the general principles laid down by the commission in its awards affirm their position. Mr. Mitchell's position differs materially from this. He believes in the closed shop and does not think that a man has a right to do "what he pleases regardless

of the effect of what he does upon society." The rights of the individual are to be limited by the welfare of the group to which he belongs, and the labor leader speaks of the awards of the commission as those of "fair-minded and intelligent men, but showing upon the whole a lack of appreciation of some of the fundamental principles of unionism and based upon premises which cannot be maintained."

The operators, as above stated, regard the demand for eight hours as a demand for an increase in wages, for the reason that breakers do not work an average of eight hours per day. In this, John Mitchell agrees with them, for he testified before the Coal-Strike Commission as follows: "When we asked for the eight-hour day and specified the laborers, or particularly specified them, we did it in order to secure to them an increase of pay." The operators say, we pay company hands the rates the commission adjudged as just and which are based upon the wholesale prices realized for coal "at tide." The basis price is not changed and wages should not change; if any attempt is made to change the wage-rate of company men, the award of the commission will be overruled, the cost of production will be increased, and the increase must fall upon the domestic sizes of anthracite. To grant the eight-hour shift will increase the cost of production, according to Mr. Wilcox's figures, 7.6 cents a ton, which, on the annual output, amounts to \$4,350,000.

The increased cost of production is not the only objection operators advance against this demand. They also object to the dictation of the union as to the number of hours they can work their plants. In the bituminous fields, where the union is strong enough to enforce its decrees, the operators cannot work their plants more than eight hours out of every twenty-four. The anthracite operators object to this. Some of them tried to work their breakers ten hours a day, after the nine-hour shift was established, and failed. The union restrains its members from working overtime. Mr. Mitchell's testimony before the commission was: "If an eight-hour day were adopted, the drivers and all the other day laborers would stop at the end of eight hours. . . . We expect the contract miner and his laborer to work only eight hours a

day." Hon. Wayne MacVeagh characterized the words of the witness: "Not more than eight hours shall be worked in any one day by any mine worker," as brutal, un-American and indefensible, and stated, "We never have accepted and we never will" the principle that no man in or around the mines has a right to work more than eight hours a day. Operators claim that the eight-hour shift will cut down the production of the breakers from 10 to 20 per cent., according to the nature of the colliery and the condition of the breaker. The fixed charges will remain constant, but a diminished output will reduce the income. A colliery that produces 1,500 tons a day may depend on the last 200 tons for its profits, and these are produced in the last hour. Cut this off and you change a profitable colliery to a profitless one. Anthracite breakers are filled with complicated machinery which is ever liable to break down during the day, and, to limit their operation to eight hours from the time of starting, will handicap many operations which now are hardly able to cover the margin of profit.

The operators also call attention to the peculiar character of the anthracite market. They aver that only 60 per cent. of the output of anthracite collieries cover the cost of production. The smaller or steam sizes, forming 40 per cent. of the output, come into competition with bituminous coal and are sold below cost of mining. The industry under present conditions is prosperous, but change the wage rate and the effect will be such that the price of domestic sizes will be increased, and the cry is now that market prices are too high.

Some operators say: "Give them eight hours and insist upon all miners and their laborers staying in the face eight hours a day." Eighty per cent. of the miners in the Schuylkill region work by the yard and as a rule spend about eight hours in the chamber. Those of the Wyoming region work by the car and leave their chamber after five or six hours' work. If the operators rule that the miners who work by the car must stay in the face for eight hours a day, the miners may also insist upon getting a full quota of cars each day. If operators give miners half the number of cars which comprises a shift, they cannot expect them to spend a whole shift waiting for them. A demand for

eight hours in the face should be accompanied with a guarantee of a full quota of cars each day—a thing no foreman in any colliery can guarantee. Mine managers, however, know that no uniform rule can be applied in the case of contract miners. Many considerations enter into their work which do not affect the company men. The air-current, quantity of gas, the nature of the seam, its lay, the quantity of water to contend with, etc., affect them, and there are many miners who cannot work more than four or five hours a day. The miners are contract men and as the commission stated, the hours of their labor are largely under their control, so that they do not really enter into the premises when the demand for eight hours a day for company men is made.

THE PUBLIC AND THE MINERS' DEMANDS.

The strikes of 1900 and 1902 were settled by outside interference. The President, in each instance, was the means whereby a settlement was effected, and the occasion was the exigencies of the public. Public opinion, in the present discussion, will be a prime factor in the final settlement, and, notwithstanding the public cannot know the intricacies of mining, its sense of justice will be guided by the arguments advanced by the respective parties in defense of the position taken by them.

The mine workers are within their rights in asking for a new agreement. The present one expires, March 31, 1906. They have, during its life, faithfully adhered to its terms. The Coal-Strike Commission, in setting a three-year limit to its awards, presumed that a new agreement might be either desirable or necessary at the expiration of that period. The commission's awards cannot be expected to govern anthracite mining for all time. The mine workers believe that the condition of the industry in the last three years warrants a new agreement. They say that an agreement that was a good one in 1902 may be a poor one for 1906. The commission based wages upon prices "at tide," and took the year 1901 as a basis for calculation. The condition of the industry should be taken into consideration as well as prices, and the prosperity of the last three years demands a new agreement. In this the mine workers are not likely to forfeit public favor.

Have they as good a case in their demands for recognition of

their union? The commission said: "Trade unionism is rapidly becoming a matter of business, and that employer who fails to give the most careful attention to the question of his relation to his labor or his employees, which he gives to the other factors which enter into the conduct of business, makes a mistake which sooner or later he will be obliged to correct. . . . Experience shows that the more full the recognition given to trades union, the more businesslike and responsible it becomes. . . . If the energy of the employer is directed to discouragement and repression of the union, he need not be surprised if the more radically inclined members be the ones most frequently heard." Operators everywhere, from the inception of our industrial system, have been reluctant to recognize trade unions. It is natural and based upon business instinct, as above stated. Wherever trade unions have secured recognition it is granted under pressure—the operator cannot do otherwise. The history of trade unionism has no more stubborn conflict to relate than that for recognition. And the anthracite operators, in their refusal to recognize the miners' union, stand in line with their peers of all countries in the industrial age. No matter what the complexion of the union, or its composite elements, or the nature of its constitution, the operators have never failed to advance substantial reasons for not recognizing it.

The arguments advanced by the anthracite operators were commended by the Coal-Strike Commission—will the public endorse them? They object to the influence of men connected with bituminous mines in the organization because they belong to a rival industry. Mr. Mitchell says: "It is because anthracite coal competes with bituminous that the mining of both should be controlled by one organization." What would the public say to the anthracite miners if they refused to have anything to do with the Pennsylvania railroad, the Reading, the Erie, the Lehigh Valley, the Ontario & Western—these strong anthracite-carrying corporations, because they are interested in the mining and carrying of bituminous coal? The last few years have witnessed rapid progress in the control acquired by a few railroads of desirable bituminous coal territory, and it is no secret that these railroads and the anthracite carriers are so closely associated that they may

be regarded as dominated by the same interests. If the aim of gigantic railroad combinations is to bring the coal business of the country under control, the sincerity of the above objection advanced by the presidents of anthracite-carrying roads against recognizing the miners' union may be questioned. Capitalists on the way to perfect vast combinations cannot win public sympathy when objecting to labor's efforts in the same direction.

E. B. Thomas, president of the Lehigh Valley Railroad, once said to John Mitchell that "confidence was a plant of very slow growth, and it was not to be expected that an association such as you represented could assume at once to enjoy that confidence and respect upon which all business understandings must necessarily be based." The organization has been on the field now for more than six years. Its affairs have been efficiently managed, its officers have shown due deference to employers, and its members have faithfully fulfilled the obligations imposed upon them by the commission's awards. When some of the most trying grievances were before the board of conciliation for months, the mine workers exercised admirable patience, and, under adverse decisions, exhibited an equipoise of which men of culture seldom think them capable. With over 25,000 minors in the industry, no insubordination to discipline of any magnitude can be charged to the organization and its actions and deliberations during the life of the awards have been sane and wise. The mine workers now say, "By their fruits ye shall know them," and aver that the conduct of the organization for the last three years deserves the confidence of the operators. The labor leaders say that the miner's money is taken and he ought to have a voice in the deliberations of the union, and young men in their 'teens cannot be made conscious of their responsibility in the industry unless they are brought face to face with the problem of trade unionism.

The operators may again refuse recognition, but the demand will not be waived. The spirit of unionism is wider than humanity and more deep-seated than selfish interests. It is the "gregariousness of similars." Tens of thousands of employees in these coal fields work under the same conditions, their daily life is very similar, the prejudices and commands of their employers affect their income and prescribe their

expenditures. Their joys are few, their pleasures simple, and they share each other's perils daily. These things knit the mine workers together. They are stronger than either race prejudice or national antipathies and before them the love of personal gain subsides. It is an expression of the sentiment of the solidarity of the human family which assumes a practical and efficient form in these 160,000 employees. Do what you will, the union has come to stay in one form or another. It largely rests with the operators to decide in what form it will stay. The bituminous operators have reconciled themselves to the recognition of the miner's union, and the American public will hardly sympathize with the anthracite operators in their persistent refusal to recognize the same.

What of the demand for eight hours, which, we have seen, is only a form of asking for increased wages for company men? Mine workers have already secured from 25 to 30 per cent. advance in wages in the last five years, and is it not presumable that this labor combination, by its incessant demand, will exploit the national stock of anthracite for its own profit, and take out of the national fund more than its just share? Let it be at once admitted that the mine workers are not virtuous above their fellows. They, just the same as the wage-earners employed in other industries, pursue their own interests. Workmen, the world over, consider their own immediate gain and not that of others, and the mine workers do the same. If any class criticizes them, let it scrutinize its own conduct lest it be guilty of hypocrisy.

What are the facts of the case? "Company men" includes 40,000 unskilled adult laborers in and around the mines: 14,000 work underground and receive from \$2 to \$2.22 a day; the other 26,000 work outside and their wage is from \$1.27 to \$1.69 a day. The breakers work an average of 212 days in the year, so that the first class earn from \$422 to \$490, and the second class from \$270 to \$360 a year. Thus, notwithstanding the advances granted in 1900 and 1902, together with the operation of the sliding scale, the average annual income of laborers inside the mines is not \$450, and that of outside labor is \$100 lower. The commission said that the rate of wages paid in and around anthracite collieries compared favorably with that paid elsewhere in trades requiring

equal capacity and training. Common labor on railroads, in mills, etc., receives from \$1.25 to \$1.50 a day, but if they work 300 days a year, their average annual income will exceed that of unskilled labor in and around anthracite collieries. Mr. Mitchell has said that "the very least upon which an unskilled workman could maintain a desirable standard of living was \$600 a year." Thus in championing the cause of company men, he is perfectly consistent, and in asking for an advance of 12.7 per cent. he hopes to raise the income of these men one step nearer the figure he has designated.

The increase, if granted, would add, according to this computation, some \$4,053,840 to the cost of production, providing no improvements were effected in the art of transporting, handling and preparing coal. But it should be borne in mind that economies in the anthracite industry are effected in the labor performed by these very classes which now ask for the eight-hour shift. The use of compressed air and electric locomotives for underground transportation displaces drivers, runners, helpers, and mules; automatic slate-pickers displace boys and men in breakers; scraper lines and water have almost wholly wiped out a once numerous class of employees known as "culm bank men." The business of consolidation of breakers reduces the cost of production. Instead of building a breaker at each mine, the companies now erect one large plant and turn into it the output of three or four mines. The same process is followed in ridding the mines of water. A water shaft is sunk which drains from six to ten collieries, and the service of engineers and pumpmen is superseded. A better organization of employees, a speeding up of hoisting engines and breaker engines, the installation of new machinery, are possible and the cost of transporting and preparing coal is reduced, so that the increased cost due to the eight-hour shift may thus be counterbalanced. The operators may object to being forced to greater efficiency by the demands of their employees; but it is safe to say that, if the eight-hour day were established, operators would, within two years, so adapt themselves to the situation as to produce as much coal in eight hours as they now do in nine.

This is not pure speculation. There are facts which corrobo-

rate the statement. In 1894 there were 52,035 outside employees in anthracite collieries and the tonnage mined was 41,391,200. In 1904 the number of outside employees was 50,968 and the tonnage 58,158,288. Thus in the decade the tonnage increases 15.4 cent. and the labor force is reduced 2 per cent. In 1901, there were 19,564 slate pickers employed, but, in 1904, the number is 17,727 (9.4 per cent. less), although the tonnage in the latter year was 8.5 per cent. more than in the former. In the decade, 1891-1901, the average production per day of ten hours was 279,892 tons; in 1903 and 1904 the production per day of nine hours was 308,494 and 318,350 tons, respectively. After allowing for the increased output of washeries, the tonnage produced in the last two years exceeds that of the decade mentioned by 10 per cent., while the labor force is only 9 per cent. larger. These figures show the success of entrepreneurs in keeping down the cost of production in transporting and preparing coal, and they confirm the assertion of men in charge of the breakers who say that they now do as much work in nine hours as they formerly did in ten.

But suppose the increased cost of production, to the amount of \$4,053,840, were to fall upon the operators, would that justify an advance in the price of anthracite to the public? The anthracite railroads are now in absolute control of the trade, and the effect is perceptible in the quotations of the stocks of the several railroads. The following table of quotations was published last August by the *Wall Street Journal* as one item showing the marvelous changes which have occurred from 1895 to 1905 in the railroads specified:

	Reading.	L. V.	D., L. & W.	D. & H.	O. & W.	J. C.
High since 1895....	110½	74	470	224	64	220
Low since 1895.....	2½	17½	138	92	11½	68¾

The same journal computed the gain in net income made by these railroads in 1904 as compared with that of 1894. The Reading gained 101 per cent.; the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western, 139; the Ontario & Western, 118; the Lehigh Valley, 120. In the last three years, these railroads have earned on their capital stock from 19 to 25 per cent. per annum. In the face of this unprecedented prosperity that has come to anthracite carriers, will the

American public judge them unable to grant their company hands the increase they now demand? The operators before the Coal-Strike Commission studiously avoided the question of their capacity to pay or not to pay the advance in wages asked. They strenuously opposed all discussion of prices and profits. But the commission fixed wages according to prices and the public will not close its eyes to the profits of anthracite carriers—which are now in absolute control of the mines—in this discussion of wages of company hands.

The public is chiefly interested in getting coal at reasonable prices. It will impose certain conditions upon the parties to the coming controversy. It will have as little patience with a reign of anarchy and terrorism in the coal fields as it will with a fuel famine such as came to its lot in 1902. It will expect the operators and their employees to effect a new agreement and, in case they fail, that the case be submitted to a board of arbitrators rather than allow the difficulties to develop into a stubborn conflict such as happened in 1902. It will demand light upon the question and it is unfortunate that the suggestion of the Coal-Strike Commission to appoint an investigating committee to give the facts to the public has not been taken up by our legislature. The final arbiter of all such questions is force. If the union is strong enough to wrench recognition and an eight-hour day from the operators, it will succeed; if the operators prove the stronger, the wage-earners must content themselves with present wages and conditions. It is to be a contest of strength between two opposing corporations that are well-officered and well-organized. The force of public opinion, incident to suffering and to a public calamity, will make itself felt, and its voice, made known through the press, will be emphatic and strong. The controversy of three years ago was largely decided by the moral and social issues involved, and the coming dispute cannot be limited to purely economic considerations as long as there are 750,000 men, women and children directly dependent upon the industry for their subsistence and another 19,000,000 dependent upon the production of anthracite collieries for their domestic supply of fuel.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE IRISH QUESTION

SIR HORACE PLUNKETT

IT is, I presume, as the author of a recent book¹ which has given rise to much controversy that I have been asked to contribute to this review an article upon Ireland. I do so with pleasure, because I am sufficiently in touch with Irish life at home to be aware of the influence for good or for evil which must ever be exerted upon the affairs of my country by the public opinion of "The Greater Ireland beyond the Sea" which has grown up in the United States. Hitherto that influence has been used mainly for the encouragement and support of political agitation with a view to obtaining certain legislative reforms from the Imperial Parliament. But many great changes have taken place both in Ireland and the United States which appear to me to give Americans generally, and Irish-Americans especially, a wholly new interest in Ireland. I propose, therefore, to present those other aspects of Irish life which men of all political opinions are coming, in increasing numbers, to agree must be taken into account in any comprehensive scheme for saving the remnant of the Irish people at home from the effects of an emigration which has too long been draining away the stronger and more hopeful classes of the community.

There are probably few countries in the world which have undergone such extensive changes as Ireland has during the last fifty years; and, saving only the excessive emigration, I think all these changes have been for Ireland's good. I do not know of any book which would enable the reader to draw a comparison between the Ireland of a generation ago and the Ireland of to-day. No writer has attempted to give such a conspectus of the country socially and economically as has Münsterberg, for instance, in his recent book on the Americans. Everything written about Ireland by the more eminent writers, native or otherwise, is quite out of date, and is descriptive of an Ireland as dead as the England of Queen Anne. This is the more strange in view of the world-wide interest which the affairs of Ireland have excited and of the revo-

¹"Ireland in the New Century." John Murray, London. Dutton & Co., New York
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lution—no less a term will suffice—through which the social and economic life of the people is passing. I doubt whether at the present moment any other country in the world offers to the student of social and economic development a more profoundly interesting study.

People who do not look upon Ireland as a homogeneous whole generally divide the country into North and South, simply because the Protestants and Unionists are thickest in the one part, and the Catholics and Nationalists in the other. Economically Ireland falls much more naturally into two quite different divisions, East and West. Allowing for convenience' sake that the East includes the Provinces of Ulster and Leinster, and the West consists of Connaught and Munster, we find two equal areas with a ratable valuation in the proportions of 103 to 56, respectively, their wealth, prosperity, and general progress being, broadly speaking, in much the same ratio. But the dividing line would have to be drawn differently to bring out the real difference in these respects between eastern and western Ireland. The northwest corner of Ulster is somewhat barren, but the materially impoverished peasantry of Donegal exhibit some hardy qualities making for progress. On the other hand, the southern province has vast tracts of rich pasture land lazily grazed under a greatly improved but still far from perfect system of dairying. So, as in all generalizations about Ireland, in adopting the division between east and west, in order to differentiate between what I may call two social economies, large exceptions will have to be borne in mind.

If physical conditions alone were considered, the line might be drawn much nearer to the western seaboard than if social conditions were also taken into account. But let me illustrate my preference for the East and West rather than the North and South way of looking at things Irish, by saying that there is, for instance, almost as great a difference between the cities of Dublin and Galway as between Dublin itself and London; no terms could possibly convey any sense of the industrial difference between Galway and Belfast.

Even within the West itself striking differences prevail, Mun-

ster being as far ahead of Connaught as it is behind Ulster; while Cork city, the attractive capital of Munster, is as Paris to the typical Connaught towns. The valuations of these western provinces stand in the following ratio: Munster 15, Connaught 9. From these few data it will be seen that "Ireland" is an expression which covers a considerable variation of economic conditions; that all parts of Ireland are not the same, and that consequently most books about Ireland must be read with a pretty constant regard to the part of Ireland they deal with.

But while Western Ireland may be backward, it is nevertheless a very different place to-day from what it was when Thackeray saw it. So, indeed, is all Ireland. The mud-cabin has all but disappeared; indeed, by next census (1911) we shall probably find that it has vanished from its familiar place in the statistics. In 1841 (a few years before Thackeray visited Ireland), there were almost half a million mud-cabins in the country; at the 1901 census not ten thousand of these unsanitary hovels were left. On the other hand, the number of houses scheduled as first-class had risen from 40,080 in 1841 to 75,225 in 1901, and the number of "second-class" houses from 264,184 to 521,455 during the same six decades. These numbers are so considerable as to show that in solid, indisputable, civilized comfort the country has advanced; and the continuous rise of these figures from decade to decade proves that the advance is being maintained.

Better, perhaps, than all, the official tables show that the poorer provinces have shared extensively in this advance. Between 1841 and 1901 the number of first-class houses was more than doubled in Connaught; those of the second class increased from 23,235 to 60,454 during the same period of sixty years. In Munster, during the same period, the number of better-class houses was nearly doubled; in Ulster it was more than doubled, so that we find a general advance in comfort through Ireland as remarkable, perhaps, as has ever been seen in so poor a country during such a brief period. It is true that the number of third-class houses has fallen to half what it was in 1841, but we must remember that many, perhaps most, of these houses were very poor edifices; indeed, any two-roomed thing above the status of a mud-cabin

ranked as a third-class house, however wretched it might be. Taking these figures as a whole, I think they show an advance which simply cannot be argued away; as for the education statistics, they show a similar advance, and sheer illiteracy is gradually dwindling towards the vanishing point.

Over all this progress there looms, no doubt, the comfortless shadow of unceasing emigration, forcing upon us a problem that is not to be ignored. Yet upon the whole, I maintain that the material state of Ireland is one of advancement, and there are fewer bare feet, unlettered minds, empty stomachs and rain-soaked cabins in Ireland to-day than ever were known before in all trustworthy history. There are more shoes and decent coats, more tables and chairs, more bread and butter, more windows and sound roofs in the Ireland of the present than in any Ireland of the past. We must not forget the significance of these facts, even while remembering the serious tide of emigration. Parenthetically I may say that I think the enhanced standard of comfort in Ireland has at least something to do with emigration, and that it makes men emigrate now who would formerly have contentedly endured a condition of life quite inferior to their present one.

That an increased prosperity exists is a fact demonstrable in other ways. Since 1849 the deposits in the ordinary joint-stock banks have multiplied six times over; the deposits in the Post-office Savings Banks have multiplied nine times since 1877. The total value of all Irish property of all kinds for 1903-4 has been set down at \$1,358,790,795—a fairly decent figure for the place called Ireland. I admit frankly that this is a somewhat Philistine, unsoulful way of measuring a nation's progress, but at least it is a definite way, and the facts demand attention.

Hitherto the woes and grievances of Ireland, heavy and real no doubt in the past, have been dwelt upon to the utter exclusion of the story of recent progress. This progress is in some ways misleading. It must, of course, be regarded not only absolutely, but also relatively. Compared with that of other western European countries it is slow. It is relatively to her own past, say of the thirties and forties of last century, that Ireland has progressed, though I think it might be more correct to say recovered.

The Ireland of the early forties was economically a sick country, and that sickness culminated in a paroxysm so violent that even to-day deep traces of it remain.

The Famine broke up what Carlyle called "society as based upon the potato"; it broke up the most uneconomic scheme of things that perhaps ever existed, but it also set flowing that excessive tide of emigration which still continues. That Western Ireland ever recovered from the Famine is a marvel; never was a social frame so near utter dissolution as that of the West in 1847. Munster and Connaught, and indeed large parts of Eastern Ireland also, were left with a perfectly illiterate lower class, an uneducated middle class, and an upper class devoid of any proper conception of its duties toward the society around it. That the progress I have roughly sketched should have been made with such defective material is wonderful. But it is not surprising that while Ireland has dragged herself out of the Slough of Despond in which she lay in 1847, she is even to-day but driving an ox-wagon as compared with nations that have flashed far ahead of her in the automobiles of modern methods. Nor need we abate our hopefulness for Ireland because the Midas wealth of Great Britain, shining with such surpassing splendor, outdazzles her completely, and by comparison makes her seem poor indeed.

We may, however, fairly and usefully point to certain matters in which we have allowed our condition to be made indefinitely worse by our failure to husband our own resources. For example, a country with a superfluity of peat-bogs was actually importing peat-moss litter from Germany; a country with millions of acres under grass was importing compressed hay from Holland; a country with some of the best dairy-farming tracts in Europe was importing large quantities of butter from Denmark! We had still our bacon-curing industry, but the Dane took up that trade, too, and soon began to encroach on our English markets; as for eggs, we had long imported them in no small quantities, so that any rival might easily seize a large part of our market.

The explanation of all these phenomena was simple, and the direction in which progress could be made was clearly indicated.

The growth of large industrial cities and the inflow of foreign

produce, facilitated by rapid and cheap transport, had caused a revolution in the agricultural markets of western Europe which necessitated an entire change in the methods of production and distribution of farm produce. Throughout Western Europe rural communities had weathered the storm by the application of science to the cultivation of the soil, and by combining for purchase of farming requirements and sale of produce. It was not until the year 1889 that the Irish farmers became alive to the altered conditions which they had to meet. The way in which they then began to follow in the steps of their continental competitors, the origin and progress of the agricultural organization movement started by a few enthusiasts and carried on for the last ten years by the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, are fairly well known. All I can find space for here is a brief mention of the origin of this self-help movement, and of the governmental action to which it led.

The opportunity of the advocates of agricultural co-operation came in a peculiar and striking manner. In the south of Ireland, the climate, soil, cattle, and some national proclivities had combined to give to a large section of the island, of which Cork was the capital and port, a butter trade which was famous in its day. But butter-making underwent the revolution of all manufactures, with the usual introduction of costly machinery and the inevitable centralization in the factory. Capitalists began to erect creameries with modern equipment, throughout the pasture lands known as the Golden Vein. The home industry was destroyed, the dairying industry being reduced to milking the cow and carting the milk to the alien exploiter. The new economic doctrine found its practical application in teaching the Irish farmers that they could resume the business of dairying, with the increased profits which belonged to it, if they had the courage to face its risks. From that beginning, which prospered greatly, agricultural co-operation has been gradually extended to every branch of the farming industry; and by the education and discipline of this movement the Irish farmers have been brought to recognize the necessity for a radical improvement in their technical methods. The same group of individuals who had initiated the self-help side of the new move-

ment proceeded, in 1895, to organize public opinion for the introduction of state aid to agriculture and industry, which had now become necessary.

A number of Irish gentlemen of various creeds and parties, realizing that there was economic hope for Ireland, met together in 1895 to consider what should be done to give effect to their practical policy. They met during the parliamentary recess, and they called themselves the Recess Committee, because the recess was the only space of time which many of them, being members of Parliament, had available for the work they undertook. They searched the Continent of Europe for examples of what Governments had done to train their people for industrial life, and they embodied the result of their researches and reflections in a report of which the direct outcome was the creation of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland. This body was established by an act passed in 1899, during the Chief Secretaryship of Gerald Balfour, whose statesmanship has been derided as an abortive attempt to "kill Home Rule with kindness."

The department is based upon the principle of helping the people to do things for themselves, rather than of doing things for the people. The department, of which I am, as Vice-President, the responsible working head, is meant to be the missing link which was needed to connect Ireland's economic condition with the true factors of modern progress. It is meant to be an economic eye and intelligencer for Ireland, not an institution working on lines of paternalism—lines which it is felt might be fatal in a country where the spirit of self-help has been so tardily evoked. The constitution of the department provides for as much popular control as is consistent with administrative efficiency; and, so wisely has this control been exercised, that I doubt if any mere Government institution, whether in Ireland or in England itself, has ever succeeded in getting so closely into touch with the spirit of national life. It is in every sense a people's department, and during the few years of its existence it has called into active play an amount of dormant energy and intelligence which has surprised all its friends, and helped to make the criticism of its enemies the more difficult.

To give a complete and rounded picture of the new department's work would be impossible in the course of a short article. The hints I have given of Ireland's economic condition as regards agriculture will show the range of her needs, and the aim of the department is to apply modern thought, experience and example to those needs by the most direct manner possible under the existing circumstances, educational and economic. In the sphere, too, of science and technical instruction, we hope by steady, persistent work to create in our backward country an atmosphere in which better things will be possible in the near future. We hope to get the people into the right frame of mind towards modern methods; into the right attitude towards industrial effort and enterprise. We shall have done good work if we can only break up the old Irish conservatism of habit, and destroy the spirit of levity and thoughtless cynicism with which our people too often greet every suggestion of improvement.

I have now given a rough sketch of the economic conditions with which the New Industrial Movement, as it is called, is intended to deal. I have indicated the gratifying response which has been made by the people of Ireland to the new facilities for industrial development. Before concluding their brief survey, it may be well to give the reader some idea of the objective which economic and social reformers in Ireland have set before themselves.

The Land Act of 1903 will make Ireland a peasant state. With the exception of some further development of the towns on the eastern seaboard, it is not probable that, for some decades to come at least, any considerable development of manufacturing industries can be expected in the now agricultural portion of the island. Fortunately, there is in Western Europe a peasant state which seems to offer an almost ideal example for Ireland to follow. Denmark, with few manufactures, with a soil and climate less favorable for agriculture than those of Ireland, has managed, after a century of struggle, to develop a national life which combines physical well-being with a high state of social and intellectual advancement. With material resources in no way superior to ours, Denmark is showing by the best of all evidences, an increas-

ing population, a progress far beyond anything to which we have yet attained. We cannot contemplate with equanimity any such period of development as that through which Denmark has advanced; and when we come to examine the evolution of Danish peasant life we realize the necessity of resorting to more strenuous methods if in our day and generation we are to reach our goal.

The progress of Denmark is based upon a foundation of education, and that foundation was laid by the excellent common schools of the country and completed by the admirable high schools founded by the famous Bishop Grundtvig. Crowning this educational edifice there is the University of Copenhagen. But in Ireland we lack this basis of prepared intelligence and educated character. Barren and incessant conflicts over the part which religion should play in education have been the means of putting back education itself, thus making it unhelpful to look in that direction at present for the factors of progress. The consequence is that we are obliged to work towards bringing about in Ireland by propagandism and many adventitious methods what came in Denmark as the direct result of education.

The Danes were well ahead of the rest of the world in exacting compulsory attendance in common schools. Björnson has said that the Danish peasantry are the most enlightened in the world; it is to this state of educated intelligence that all judges attribute the excellence of their universally admired system of organized agriculture. One or two concrete illustrations will prove convincing. "Nearly every creamery has its telephone system, and indeed it may be said that every large farmer and tradesman of any consequence has a telephone service, and the telegraph is thus little used. Creamery managers are thus kept in constant touch, not only with each other, but with the official experts in Copenhagen. In this way the latest advices as to market fluctuations and other matters affecting them are at once known."² And it is against this system that easy-going Ireland is trying to compete: "The Commission were at Askov compelled to admire the initiative of the Dane in the application of electricity to farm work. . . . The farmer's dwelling, a beautiful suite of rooms, was fitted

² "Ireland in the New Century." New York: Dutton. London: John Murray.

with twenty-five lamps. Moreover, the electric light was carried throughout the farm buildings, even to the pig-sty. It was worth visiting Denmark to find the wind harnessed and made to generate electricity for the illumination of a pig-sty." All this is producing the results that might be expected. Between 1899 and 1903 the imports of Danish produce into Great Britain rose by ten million dollars for butter, and six and a half million dollars for bacon, while the imports of eggs were more than doubled in the four years.

In their notion of a home the Danes, as one might expect, are far ahead of us. The Scottish Commission's Report, already cited, will prove this. "The interior of a farmer's house on a holding of ten to twenty acres is certain to contain two little reception-rooms, with brightly polished wood floors, a few articles of furniture, among them often a bureau, excellent prints upon the wall, the whole effect being rather formal and precise, but expressing a love of cleanliness and modest comfort, as well as a certain measure of refinement." The Report also says: "What struck us forcibly was the evident contentment of the people with their lot." The best proof of the truth of this is the steady increase of the *rural* population of Denmark; the "back-to-the-land" problem does not exist among the Danes. What might not a better ideal of home and home life do for rural Ireland? There lies one cure for emigration. I have been taken to task for saying this in my recent book on the Irish Question.³ My argument has been much misunderstood; but in the last (third and revised) edition of this much-debated volume I have tried (pp. 51-58) to make the matter clear. Let anyone study some of the more realistic works of modern Irish fiction, and, reading between the lines, see whether my contention is so wholly unfounded. Let him peruse Canon Sheehan's *Luke Delmege*, and the historic passage on dirt in the same author's *My New Curate*, and judge whether it is unfair to infer that there is more room for improvement than for encomium. The faithful pages of another book, *Aliens of the West* (Cassell & Co.), will yield the same inference; and the domestic economy of the Curley household, as shown in one of

³ Report of the Scottish Commission on Farming in Denmark, 1904,

the sketches (*A Voteen*), will surely suggest that home rule, as practiced in that too common type of Irish home, is not altogether an encouraging success.

Anyone who supposes that the realization of the Danish model in Ireland would take the charm out of the people has little to support his view. "The Danes," says the Scottish Commission's Report, "although constant, careful and systematic at their work, do not seem to work hard. There was, as far as we could judge, an entire absence of the push and strenuous labor so apparent about a well-regulated Scotch farm." Laborers are well paid and well fed and comfortably housed, and life seems well provided at every point. Neither has the Dane been materialized by his prosperity and progress; "the Danish rural folk," says the same Report, "are of sober habit, deeply religious and law-abiding. Fine old Lutheran churches, of which they are naturally proud, are numerous. The public-house is unobtrusive; the drunkard scarcely known."

I have pointed out that the national education of Denmark in both the common and the high schools is the secret of its commercial success. It remains to add that the extraordinary success of the education is due to the close relation it bears to the history, traditions, folk-lore and literature of the country. While no such claim can yet be made for Irish education, the Gaelic Revival, promoted by an enthusiastic and rapidly increasing band of Irishmen, is seeking to interest the Irish people in their history, traditions, literature, art, customs, games, and, above all, in the native tongue of the Irish Celt. While the Gaelic League puts the restoration of Irish as a spoken tongue in the forefront of its program, it has shown the most active sympathy in every movement making for the upbuilding of the national life on its intellectual, moral, social and economic sides. With so many new forces at work—an intellectual movement, a co-operative movement, a popular Department of Government for the promotion of agriculture and industries, whatever the future may have in store for us, we may at least tell our countrymen abroad that, if we fail to realize our hopes and theirs, it is not for the lack of effort.

I have had a purpose in writing as I have done, and now I had

best explain it. The industrial movement in Ireland is one which America can help powerfully with moral support and with personal leadership. Year by year, for a quarter of a century, first with whispered diffidence, latterly with a growing confidence that the tide of Irish history had begun to turn, there has been addressed to me on my visits to the States the old question ever near to the heart and the lips of the Irishman abroad, "How does she stand?" And now I begin to hear another question which marks a widening of Irish thought and a brightening of Irish hope—"How can I best help old Ireland?" The Irishman at home, speaking broadly, is as yet wanting in the initiative and self-reliance necessary for large enterprises. He will, I am convinced, rapidly develop these qualities if some pioneering work is done for him.

Between the average Irishman and the average Englishman there is at present, and perhaps will be for some time to come, too little mutual sympathy and understanding. But the Irish-American comes to us from the place which we have learned to regard as our second home—he comes crowned with the halo of a success at which all the world wonders, and he will be followed with eager confidence where others would find only mistrust or a cold acquiescence. The "invasion of England" is a phrase which of late has often been heard in the business world in relation to enterprises carried through on this side by American commercial genius. Is a friendly invasion of Ireland from the same quarter a thing altogether beyond the reach of hope? If there are dollars to be picked up in England are there none in Ireland, where competition is not nearly so keen nor labor so dear? This is a business way of putting the matter; but it is business, not charity, that is wanted now. If charity were Ireland's need, assuredly her children in America have done their part. I doubt whether history records any sustained act of charity comparable with the support by the Irish emigrants and their descendants of their less happily circumstanced fellow-countrymen at home. But now we want those who help us to help themselves in so doing.

We come, then, to this conclusion. Ireland has to rebuild her national life, which must be mainly agricultural. The basis of

that life must be spiritual rather than material, a condition which has proved no hindrance to the small countries which have done great things for civilization. I have taken from modern Europe the instance of Denmark, but how much more strikingly is my point illustrated by the story of ancient Greece. In American academic circles I am sure the *Harvard Lectures on Greek Subjects*,⁴ a series of addresses delivered in the spring of 1903 by Dr. Butcher, one of the most brilliant Irish scholars the present generation has produced, are well known. The comparison he draws between Greece and Israel and between Greece and Phœnicia are full of suggestion for those who believe that the Celt stands for something in the world.

Many Irish-Americans have come to recognize that the dominant note in the English-speaking world must be Anglo-Saxon, and I have heard some of them express the view that in this fact the Irish people, ever a missionary race, may yet find their highest mission. They hold that the Celtic race is eminently fitted to spiritualize a civilization ever tending to become more and more material. If this be a realizable ideal, it surely behooves all those who belong to Ireland and believe in the future of the Irish people, to do what in them lies to preserve the remnant of the race at home.

⁴ Published by Macmillan of New York.

PUVIS DE CHAVANNES AND GUSTAVE MOREAU

CAMILLE MAUCLAIR

THE idealistic painting of the nineteenth century in France has, relatively speaking, been effaced, and this effacement is to be attributed to several causes. The most important is the obstinate struggle of the independent artists, in the name of reality, and of beauty of expression, of *character*, against the official traditions of classical painting, of the Ecole de Rome and of the Institute, that draws its inspiration from a severe neo-Greek, allegorical and pompous ideal. This struggle had a double character, moral and æsthetic. The artists, become free citizens after the Revolution, broke the hierarchical yoke of the schools, and zealously followed up the achievement of their independence by revolting at once against the dogmas of the Academy and against the favoritism that rewarded docile obedience to these dogmas. The second cause is the desire of the independent artists to find motives of beauty in contemporary life, and at the same time to protest against the fundamental idea of the classical school, which declares that the Greeks and the Renaissance have fixed the laws of beauty, and that all else is degeneracy. Emancipating themselves from this thought, hoping on the contrary that beauty belongs to every epoch, for him who knows how to find it, and that he alone can find it who loves his age, the artists have banished mythologic and allegoric painting to look about them. Finally, a third reason for the effacement of idealistic art is the very weakness of the academic painters who remained faithful to it, and who made it insipid and ruined it, both by their commonplace technique, and by their false prejudices in the matters of style and nobility. Some of the independent artists, among them Courbet, Daumier, Millet, Manet, Degas, Besnard, were attracted by a vigorous realism, by the study of the psychological character of modernity; the rest have remained bound to the precepts of the academy, and, degenerate descendants of the great Ingres—themselves degenerate while they preach of the degeneracy of others—they have finally arrived at the actual mediocrity of a Flandrin, a Cabanel, or a Bouguereau.

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True idealistic painting found itself caught between two camps. All the active and innovating temperaments were drawn towards realism, which represented independent opposition to the tyranny of the school: all the others, a number of them men of real talent, have feared to break with "alma mater," and enter bravely upon an unknown path. Meanwhile there was standing ground, between realism and an imitation of the ancients, for a lofty idealism, inspired by generous sentiments in regard to human life and the permanent spectacle of nature. This idealism could not be precisely religious, for the efforts of the whole nineteenth century are all anti-dogmatic; but it could be pantheistic, or could seek freely in all the styles for elements fit to express a modern ideology. For such an ideology chemistry, electricity, astronomy, mechanics, magnetism could afford beautiful subjects; and they could make a fresh use of the old mythological allegories, which themselves expressed scientific ideas and the laws of knowledge.

One could believe, after the splendid example of Delacroix, that romanticism would constitute this painting. But meanwhile the movement deviated, and while the pupils of Ingres went back to the narrowest tradition of the School, the admirers of Delacroix turned to contemporary life, abandoning symbolism without a battle, to the mediocre painters who, like Delaroche, Scheffer, Robert-Fleury, sought to take over academic ideas into historical painting, without attaining either to emotion or to plastic beauty. In the line of descent from Eugène Delacroix there are a few men who, while they understand the urgent necessity of fleeing from the decaying principles of the School, determined to flee as well from realism and to express in painting general ideas. These men remain isolated between the two camps. The School did not pardon their technical audacities, and the realists, repelled by all the false nobility of the *peinture à sujets*, condemned them as heartily as did the academy.

Of these painters, somewhat analogous by their position to the English pre-Raphaelite school, Puvis de Chavannes and Gustave Moreau have been the most considerable by their work, their character and their influence. Both of them have lived long lives,

devoted completely and zealously to their work, and both are descended from Ingres and Delacroix through Théodore Chassériau. The last-named artist is one of the finest figures in the French art of the nineteenth century. He died at thirty-six years of age, after having produced an enormous mass of work, and an unjust fate seems to pursue his memory. He also found himself caught between two movements, and it cannot be doubted that he would have taken a place in the first rank of independent artists, despite the School, if he had not died. The favorite pupil of Ingres, under whose inspiration he produced some beautiful things, notably the decoration of the Cour des Comptes de Paris, burned in 1871 and finally destroyed in 1900, he abandoned Ingres when he discovered the Venetians, and ranged himself beside Delacroix; but he preserved the pure line of his first master, while adding the warm and glowing [*ardent*] color and the spirited subjects of his second, and so the work of Théodore Chassériau seems situated at the crossing of the roads of Ingres and Delacroix, and then of Puvis de Chavannes and Gustave Moreau, the former of whom drew an immense inspiration from the decoration of the Cours des Comptes, while the latter borrowed from Chassériau a certain morbidity, a certain rare harmony of tone [*deno les tonalités*], a taste, Oriental rather than Greek, which Chassériau's creole blood led him to put into his nudes and into his antique or Algerian scenes.

The public, and even the critics, give generally little thought to this influence of Chassériau on Moreau and Puvis de Chavannes. Chassériau's sudden death, the destruction of the Cour des Comptes, his position between classicism and realism, have all contributed to make him forgotten. It is true, none the less, that this great artist, whose name will some day be greeted with enthusiasm, has directly inspired Puvis de Chavannes and Gustave Moreau.

The work of Puvis de Chavannes is majestic by virtue of its abundance, its nobility, and its wisdom: it extends from 1860 to 1900 with a magnificent unity of conception, and is the most beautiful decorative work of modern times. As we know, it is composed of a great crowd of pictures and pastels, of a considerable

series of sketches [*dessins*], and above all of a succession of vast mural compositions distributed among the museums of Marseilles, of Amiens, of Rouen, of Lyon, in the Hôtel de Ville at Paris, in the Sorbonne, in the Panthéon, and in the Boston Library. These works, which, taken together, bear witness to an extraordinary capacity for labor, and constitute in truth a very world of figures, are so well known to all that instead of enumerating them here we shall attend to the more interesting question of inquiring into their essential principle.

Puvis de Chavannes had in the highest degree the sense for mural decorative paintings, designed to be seen in the half-light of buildings, in the shadow of galleries, in the light that filters through glass windows. After so many illustrious examples bequeathed by the Venetians, he learned how to fashion for himself a style and a harmony absolutely original, which is, however, not without a suggestion of Pompeiian frescoes and the works of the Quattrocenti of Sienna. His figures are outlined with a clear stroke and colored with large, solid tints. His landscapes are harmonized in mauve, yellow [*dans une gamme mauve, jaune maïs*], blue and white, the limpidity of which combines marvelously with the reflections of the bare stones of churches or monuments. Far from giving the impression of pictures, of visions of life made without and brought into an interior, they are, on the contrary, like open windows, they make the monument a part of the life without. They are not canvases, hung up; it is the wall itself that is given a life of its own. The expanse of these landscapes is of a delightful nobility. Vast purple plains, studded with beautiful masses of forest, or with slender shrubs, in fine silhouettes, stretch off to the limit of a heaven of pearl.

Sometimes this nature is seen at close range, as in the *Life of Sainte Geneviève* in the Panthéon; sometimes, as at the Sorbonne, it is spacious, with expanses of deep woods. In this world live creatures, nude or draped, who are neither Greek nor modern, neither realistic nor conventionally ennobled. The men are muscular and strong, each with his habitual and professional bearing; a few accessories suffice to characterize them. By the tools they carry, or the arms they bear, without the use of any complex symbol to

explain their significance, the artist knows how to give them the attitude of labor, and to draw from it a beauty which carries with it as much exact and simple observation as that of the realists. His blacksmiths, his bowmen, his laborers, do not pose, they are simply such as life has made them, and the humblest visitor can recognize them. The women are strong and sweet, without false elegance; their nudity is frank and sane, beautiful in the force and sureness of the attitudes, and in its promise of fecundity, without any search for details pretty or sensual. There are mothers who have never lost their feminine charm, but that charm can please only a healthy race, who do not know the meaning of diseased nerves. Nor have these women anything of the gross sensuality of the women of Rubens. They have regular features, looks calm, neither animal nor complicated, brows broad and even, a certain primitive nobility. The young girls are slender and chaste, with delicate arms, pure breasts, a grace without affectation. These people could be Greeks, or Gauls, or real men of any time: they are not creatures that have sprung up at the call of any theory of the Schools, they belong truly to the author's dream.

These beings are drawn with evident mastery, but largely without useless detail, always with a view to a great decorative whole. They are grouped with an artful skill that is one of Puvis de Chavannes' most genuine merits; no one better than he has known how to fill a landscape with figures without crowding it, to determine the proper distances between the personages, to maintain that impression of general harmony which is the master problem of decoration. One need not seek in Puvis de Chavannes the dazzling *tours de force* of a Tiepolo, who loves difficulties, and accumulates them only to give himself the pleasure of overcoming them. Puvis de Chavannes seeks above all to give the impression of harmonious force, of equilibrium, and of calm poetry: he is a Virgilian, and his profound knowledge does not care to be brilliant, does not seek to be admired. Before his works one does not think of the painter, one thinks only of the personages, of their life, of their soul.

That life and that soul are curiously composite. Puvis de Chavannes was born at Lyons, a city at once mystic and demo-

cratic; he had received a good classical education, and though an aristocrat by birth and by inclination, he respected human labor and the beauty of it. This combination of ideas, to which must be joined his aversion to all complicated art and to all restlessness of spirit, and finally his love for the country and his love for French soil—this combination is found in his work. Puvis de Chavannes was a great classic painter, but had in him nothing of the academic. Realism and idealism for him blended into a great desire for harmony, and his spirit, very united and very simple, had the gift of seizing general ideas, but no gift for the details that make up the subtle refinements of modernity. He has not painted religious pictures, either Pagan or Catholic, and yet his entire work gives the impression of majesty without asceticism. It is inspired with a kind of natural symbolism; the harvest, the seasons, the woods, life in the open air, the labor of the peasant and the artisan, the work of the fields, the grace of the maidens, the dignity of matrons, the hardy beauty of young men, all these subjects of Latin poetry, equally consecrated by true Christianity, have sufficed with Puvis de Chavannes to compose, independently of any formal cult, an immense poem in the manner of Lucretius. We find in him a religious emotion that all believers, as well as free-thinkers, can share, and we must admire, beside, that genial, sweet and firm confidence in life, that optimism, and that happy vision from which is disengaged a magnetism of hope and kindness.

It would not be correct to say that Puvis de Chavannes has felt tyrannically the influence of the Greeks. His love of Latinity and of the world of French country life have counterbalanced that influence in him, and this will become plain through a comparison of his work with that of the painters of the academy who believe they have found beauty when they transport to their canvases the proportions of Greek statues. I remember the artist's saying to me one day, apropos of the decoration of the Sorbonne: "People say everywhere that my landscapes are Greek. I have never been in Greece, and I have found the basis of my decoration in the Bois de Boulogne." He adored the landscape of France, and one may say that he wished above all things to honor his country by

writing the fairest pages of its history and its most beautiful cities, in Paris, in Lyons, in Amiens, in Rouen, in all Marseilles. Personally he was a patriot even to Chauvinism, the friend of the hierarchical order, and a little alarmed at the innovations of modern art, whenever they brought with them complexity and subtlety.

He was truly an idealist. He worked scrupulously from the model in drawing. But he invented the composition, the coloring, and made them accord with his sketches: little sensible of the subtleties of coloring for itself, he had in the highest degree the sense of lights and shadows, the sense for the large aspect of things, which is the secret of fine painters, and he reduced all colors to three or four general harmonies whose clearness was in his own spirit, in such sort that his work is at once exact and transposed, real and ideal. His people are seen to live, we are acquainted with the country in which they dwell, and yet we well know that their life is passed in a world dreamed by a poet. He was himself as calm and well ordered as his work.

For thirty years he occupied the same atelier and worked the same number of hours, without allowing himself to be turned aside; still he followed the evolution of art with interest, he was the friend of impressionists, and founded the Salon of the Société Nationale with a spirit of great liberality. But nothing troubled him in the conception of his work. This conception was so simple, so firmly based upon logical principles of life and art, that it passed through realism and impressionism without growing old. *La Vie de Sainte Geneviève* remains fresh, smiling and pure, a masterpiece beside which all that we have since produced seems offensive, declamatory and incongruous; and since *The Odalisk and the Bather* of Ingres no painter has given so strong an impression of magnificent security, of serener assurance of indemnity from the slights of time and changing taste.

It has been said that Puvis de Chavannes lacks emotion, and restless and ardent spirits are fatigued by his serenity. Yet he knows how to express grief, as in that beautiful and sad poem *Winter*, in the Hôtel de Ville at Paris; but that grief is always for him melancholy, it remains grave, discreet, an enemy of violent gestures. He is wrongly reproached for his archaism. There

is nothing of the hieratic or Byzantine in his work. It never inclines towards the ascetic emaciation of the old painters; it remains natural and friendly towards human life. It very rarely makes use of allegorical figures. It would appear that it should rather be related by its spirit to the Gallo-Roman epoch, when Christianity began to penetrate among the Gauls, and blended at once with the old local beliefs and with the rustic myths of popular latinity. Even the *Sacred Wood* and the *Vision of Antiquity* are Greek only in the sense that the artist, who has risen quite above archaism, has retained the moral meaning of an epoch. A like criticism may be made upon works like *Marseilles*, the *Greek Colony*, and *Marseilles, the Gate of the Orient*, which are the honor of the museum of that city. In the last-named composition the deck of a ship brings together in the foreground a certain number of very faithfully portrayed oriental types, but that which preoccupies the artist is the light that bathes the whole scene, the intense azure in which are revealed the jetties gilded by that light, the harmonious arrangement of the groups of sailors, the impression of abundance, of radiant richness, demanded by the subject. The pastels, the studies of the nude, the portraits, show how far he was determined to subordinate the strictly pictorial value of a work to sentiment.

There was always a strong human interest in his painting. But when he wished to be purely allegoric, as in the *Sea Nymphs* of the Boston Library, in the *Sacred Wood*, in the decoration of the Sorbonne, he knew how to become in the highest degree metaphysical, to create towering figures which have nothing real about them and at the same time nothing fictitious, nothing pretentious. Finally, he knew how to remain himself while attempting an entirely modern symbolism, as in the curious panel in which Electricity is figuratively represented by two women fleeing in opposite directions, horizontally, along the telegraph wires, the one veiling her face and representing bad news, the other radiant and holding white flowers, embodying the good news which electricity also carries. This panel, designed for Boston, shows that the symbolism of the artist was not limited to mythology or religion, but was simply and largely human.

The large optimism of Puvis de Chavannes is very like that of Emerson. If his constant serenity does not satisfy the restless, it need not be forgotten in any case that it is the serenity of the painter-decorator, and that passions, griefs and moving and tragic scenes belong rather to easel-pieces than to the edifices in which Puvis de Chavannes worked. He is the great poet of labor rewarded, the poet of pity and soft emotion, the poet of peaceful abundance, who disposes over rustic landscapes workmen, fishermen, blacksmiths, laborers in the vineyard, all of them presented without vulgarity and without emphasis, and as faithfully as are the toilers of Millet and Courbet. In presenting these people he attains to a grandeur full of energy, as in the *Arts of Fire* and *Winter*, as well as to idyllic sweetness like that of the *Sacred Wood*, *The Apotheosis of the Sciences*, the *Vision of Antiquity*, *Maidens by the Sea*, or, to a tender mysticism, as in *Sainte Geneviève*, *The Poor Fisherman*, *The Fountain*, *Christian Inspiration*. There are as many masterpieces which make their appeal to the soul, without sacrificing anything of their distinctively pictorial qualities, for the landscapes of *Marseilles*, of *Summer*, of *Rouen*, of *Winter* must be numbered among the most beautiful that have been painted in the nineteenth century, and will astonish one by the quality of their light, by the arrangement of their details, and by the power of their decorative development.

Puvis de Chavannes has left no disciples. We cannot regard as such M. Henri Martin and M. Maurice Denis, who tend in somewhat the same direction. The one of the artists mingles with decorative art the coloring of a glowing impressionism, while the other turns back to the archaism of Giotto and his like. Sprung from Chassériau, certain of whose compositions present him entire, the contemporary of Chenavard, who was, like him, a mystic, a native of Lyons, and an interesting spirit, though without great pictorial faculty, Puvis de Chavannes is in a word a generalizing mind, who stands apart, quite by himself, and has used decorative painting to express a philosophic and humanitarian vision of existence, without ever abandoning himself to the delights of mere virtuosity. There are many greater colorists and some greater designers, but by the use he made of painting, by the skill of his

composition, by the fusion of different ideas, he will live as an exceptional figure, richly original and to such a degree that he can never be confused with any one else; not that he appeared abnormally with an archaic soul in a society without naïveté, and brought with him the charm of vanished ages, but he knew how to be genuine, and to satisfy contemporary dreams by attaching them to the great natural and simple traditions of old France and of the ancients, without the mannerisms, without the false cleverness, the emphasis, and the dryness of academic painting. It is by virtue of qualities like these that he has been able to leave, in several monumental buildings of his native country, pages which will be the honor of an epoch, and before which artists of schools the most opposed to his own will stand reverently.

The personality of Gustave Moreau is quite different, though rooted in close proximity to that of Puvis de Chavannes.

Gustave Moreau is only beginning to be known. He did not exhibit in the Salon after 1865; he shut himself up, and sold directly to amateurs works that no one saw afterwards. The generation of symbolist poets admired him on the strength of a few photographs, and a few eloquent pages of Huysman's, and above all because of the mystery of his own life. When he died, bequeathing his house, filled with his works, to the city of Paris, and when at last the gift was accepted, his work could be appreciated and there were disillusion: long expectations had led the public to hope for sublime works, and the work appeared less beautiful than had been expected. Now that the personality of Moreau has ceased to be hidden, it is possible to form a just appreciation of his work, and still to assign him a fine rôle in the history of nineteenth century pictorial art.

Gustave Moreau was strongly influenced by Delacroix and by his friend Chassériau. The latter he almost worshipped, and it was in memory of him that he composed the *Young Man and Death*. Rich, extremely intellectual and erudite, Moreau was a solitary recluse, devoted to classical and oriental literatures and mythologies. His was a free spirit, a lyric soul, which conceived the project of giving a new life to the mythological painting which the academy rendered insipid. He could not content himself with

the not over-exalted ideal of realism; he was romantic and imaginative, but at the same time a very scrupulous character, with a natural bent for complexity of thought and technique. Moreau distrusted his imagination, and believed that he could rest safely upon the rules of the School, which would check him and restrain him from falling into the excess of dreamy thoughtfulness, which is more proper to the writer than to the painter. His was a critical spirit of fine insight both as regarded his own work and that of others. His admiration for Delacroix did not conceal his defects, and he dreamed the dream of all the romanticists of 1840, the dream of Chassérian, the dream of the union of the purity of Ingres with the passion of Delacroix. It is this dream, absolutely logical in theory, but hardly applicable, that produced the greatest faults of Gustave Moreau. Had he trusted to his extraordinary imagination, he would, without doubt, have gone astray at times, but there would not have been throughout his work that mixture of timidity and audacity which makes it at once attractive and deceptive.

That work leaves us with a sense that the artist was a great poet, who would have been a great painter had he not been restrained by some scruple.

The School, in which Moreau found for himself a sanction and a wise lesson, was for his genius but a hindrance and a trouble. This is shown in a striking way by his nudes. They are drawn timidly, imitating with softness and insipidity those of Ingres, and they are placed in the midst of architectural surroundings or landscapes of a strange magnificence, the rich invention of which is in violent contrast with their conventional poverty. While Chassérian had the courage and the decision to break, if not with the fine perceptions of Ingres, at least with every trace of the pretentiously pretty or the commonplace in him, Moreau, less energetic and less impelled by the force of his vocation, hesitated, and wished to be at once classic and romantic, traditional and exceptional. His strange mind, his tastes, brought him to a state that was almost decadent; like Baudelaire, he imagined an artificial nature, an art that was neurotic, and an esoteric symbolism. He withdrew from life, wished to create everything by a

dream, used no models, painted gardens fashioned of metal, and women of ivory with eyes like precious stones, but preserved always in the midst of this imaginative audacity a certain timidity, which expressed itself in his drawing. He came to live exclusively in himself, to see life only through museums and books, to replace life by art; and strange disproportions in his talent were the result.

In him is found a reminiscence of the old painters, notably of those of the school of Lombardy, to whom he was one of the first to return. There is found in him also the influence of Persian miniatures, the rare color of which, with their glint of enamel and sea-shell tints, Moreau loved. He was a man passionately devoted at once to the Orient and to Greek myths; and all his work is dedicated to these two subjects. His work is, in fact, a series of compositions on *The Labors of Hercules*, *The History of Salome and of Saint John*, *Phæton*, *Pasiphæ*, *The Argonauts*, *Helen*, *Orpheus*, *The Indian Poet*, *Orestes*, *Ulysses and the Suitors*, *Jupiter and Semele*, *Jason and Medea*, *The Muses*, etc. We find with surprise the incongruous and continual mixture of an imagination sumptuously lyrical and a technique that is at the same time incorrect and characterized by preciousness. The influence of Delacroix is seen in the sketches of landscape and the return to certain violent tones. That of Chassériau is apparent in the desire to blend Greek and oriental voluptuousness, in the way the painter of *Esther* and of the *Tepidarium* so well understood. But Moreau has not, and does not wish to have, the large and spirited execution of those two artists. He paints with minuteness, and sets himself to give to his painting the aspect of jewelry, and often succeeds in a way that is bizarre and delightful, often also in a way that suggests a cheap trick. His pictures (most of them water colors) are small, and executed with preciousness, with colors of enamel, with greens of a certain taste, and shades of red peculiar to the old painters. Often the richness of the color, a little cold and metallic, with the hard brilliance of pyrites and precious stones, redeems the want of suppleness, of personality, and of the warmth of life in the nudes. Often, also, unhappily, it aggravates his defects, and makes them appear the more saliently. In con-

sidering this enormous work one cannot help respecting it for the intelligence, the conscientiousness, the elevation of thought, and the honesty that it reveals, but the sense of regret is all the keener that such a spirit and such a poet had not found a way to throw off the yoke of academic formulas, to create works original and in harmony with the conception of the artist, and finally that he had not been willing, for fear of disturbing his dreams, to strengthen himself by a return to nature and by the observation of the true.

But in all that concerns the imagination, Moreau is admirable. He discovers movements and expressions which have nothing spontaneous about them, which are on the contrary combinations of slow and subtle meditations, that attain to a profound intellectual significance. Thus the labor of *Hercules at the Stymphalian Lake*, *Hercules and the Hydra*, *Salome Visiting Saint John* in his prison, *David Singing before Saul*, *The Chimera*, *Perseus and Andromeda*, *The Triumph of Alexander*, the little water color of *Love and the Muses*, and *The Apparition* will remain among the noblest inspirations of lyric painting. Nor will the picture *Orestes Pursued by the Furies* be forgotten, in which, if the Orestes is commonplace, the Furies are marvellous. Not less memorable is the figure of the young poet in *Ulysses and the Suitors*, who is wounded in the back with an arrow, and falls singing. And in spite of its regrettable coloring, *Phaeton* may still be counted among the most beautiful works of heroic art, thanks to the prodigious conception of the Lion of the Zodiac taking his stand in the midst of the heavens to hurl the chariot and the white horses into the void. The sketch of the *Argonauts* is also a beautiful thing; the *Jupiter*, holding on his knee the little Semele, recalls, and is not inferior to, the Jupiter of Ingres, whose beard Thetis touches with a gesture so admirable; and *The Indian Poet* is a work of exquisite inspiration. These works, and a certain number of sketches, will suffice to make the memory of Gustave Moreau respected. In them literature of a singular refinement approaches painting without wronging it. One cannot but admire the barbarous architecture, the fantastic horizons, the luxurious costumes, the cliffs of basalt and of emerald, the hieratic expressions which are all of them found in this work, which proceeds at once from Ingres and from Dela-

croix, from the modern symbolist spirit and from Greek and Hindu mysticism, with a curious element created by a very exalted understanding.

Moreau lived a fine life, lofty and pensive. It is not easy to see why he was elected to the Institute, for the academicians liked him no better than the realists. They reproached him for his love of the old painters, and for his way of interpreting legends in a mystic sense. He was nominated at a moment when the School felt the need of responding to the growing success of the impressionists by the reception of a mythological painter of the tradition of Ingres. Intrusted with a course at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, he effected a real revolution by the liberality of his teaching, which made him adored by the young men during the five years that he taught. The pupils of Moreau, whether they followed his path or attempted the kind of painting now in vogue [*peinture moderniste*], have formed an interesting and vivacious group. It may be said of them that they have constituted in France a little pre-Raphaelite group, of which a number of painters who are especially devoted to the Renaissance, among them Armand Point, Lévy-Dhurmer and Valère Bernard, are members. The Moreau atelier in fact retarded the final decadence of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and sought to introduce into it certain generous ideas which alone might have imparted some interest.

We shall not be able then to consider Gustave Moreau as a great painter, but rather as a great spirit, as an intelligence which might have been able to express itself as well or perhaps better through philosophy or lyric poetry. It is the last development of the strange poetry that was in Delacroix; but with Delacroix this poetry remained great, with Moreau it became concentrated, obscure, a stranger to life, and it did not always gain in depth what it lost in breadth and in ease. Admired by writers, somewhat on the strength of what has been said about him by others, rather than from a study of his work, held in suspicion by painters of an epoch devoted passionately to realistic truth, Gustave Moreau will remain an artist of great value, an isolated exemplar of idealistic painting. But the spell he cast is already broken; and his

work is not of the kind that can exercise a lasting influence, because it is of value only on the score of literary intention; it does not bring into plastic art a new technique or a new vision of life. It seems wearied with what life offers, and determined to take refuge in poor abstraction.

What a difference between this genius and the simple and harmoniously primitive genius of Puvis de Chavannes! Assuredly it would be illogical to attempt to draw a parallel between the two men, and to draw parallels is a very inexact and sterile kind of criticism. The attempt to do so was made simply because Puvis de Chavannes and Gustave Moreau have been the most remarkable among those who, in the midst of the realism of the nineteenth century, have endeavored to keep alive the tradition of idealism in pictorial art. The ideas of the one remain constantly in harmony with the requirements of painting; the ideas of the other often do violence to painting, and there lies the profound difference between the two men. The one is sane, the other of a complexity one might almost call factitious and diseased; the one loved life, and the other refused it. Finally, the one had the good sense to understand that mural art alone could respond to his conception, the other more and more confined himself to little works of miniature, and lost, through his preference for a literary mannerism, the power of which his early work gave promise.

Puvis de Chavannes and Gustave Moreau are, then, the exceptions in the French school. But the first is so but relatively to his epoch; and men will return to him as to a model as soon as mural art shall return to the true path of painting. But the future will find nothing in the work of Moreau beyond the satisfaction of a curiosity in regard to his peculiar and limited interest. This is the critical conclusion which it seems just to formulate at the present time in regard to the two men whose work and whose glory have been so different. Moreau closes a period of extreme romanticism, Puvis de Chavannes opens a shining door upon the future.

TEN PAGES OF TAINE

HILLAIRE BELLOC

THERE exists in the sphere of modern letters a danger which is parallel to another danger long apparent in the sphere of politics. It has been discovered that the great advance which our time has made in the accumulation of positive knowledge is not in itself advantageous, that the original tendency of men to abuse good things is in no way diminished by an increased facility for using them, and that wealth of any sort may accentuate the violence of our oscillation between good and evil, but does nothing to eradicate our risk of falling from the one into the other. It has been recognized that with greater powers we may but succeed in doing ourselves the greater hurt, and this truth, which is the theme of half our reformers in matters of state, is equally manifest in the domain of thought. In letters, whereby thought is expressed and conveyed, the peril is nowhere more apparent than in the department of history.

As it was once imagined that the conquest of material powers would necessarily advance the happiness and intelligence of the citizen in general, so it was taken for granted that the vast extension of research which our time has witnessed, the perfect cataloguing of the material gathered, the number of workers who had begun to occupy themselves in sifting and arranging this material, would make of the historian in particular not only a being endowed with higher facilities, but one who would necessarily tell more of the truth to men and tell it more justly. In the literary as in the political calculation there lay a fatal error. No increase of the field external to man could transform what was intimate to man within. The frontiers of his nature remained fixed; the weakness of execution, whose contrast with the magnitude of his ideal is the chief theme of satire, persists. And so far from the temptation to convince by false testimony or to achieve fame by a trick being eliminated, it has received but additional opportunity from the singular progress of the modern world.

The Historian's true function is to provoke a resurrection of the flesh. He is endowed with leisure (or demands it) for the

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avowed purpose of studying the dead past more minutely than is possible to his fellow-citizens, and when that study is completed within the limits he has proposed to himself he sets out by a violent and often unsuccessful effort to breathe life into the bones he has gathered. He does not pretend to the easier task of the poet, nor to make his characters act in such a way as shall be consonant with human nature and provoke a mere illusion of reality. He attempts much more. He approaches the awful business of opening a tomb, he brings out men who once were, he boasts that they shall move before us not as he chooses, but as they chose; with all the complexity, with all the inconsequence, but also with all the vast unity of our common life.

To this end selection alone is necessary, combined with truth. There needs no vast accumulation of detail, but rather detail rightly chosen and just. The human mind does not, any more than does the human eye, consider an infinity of points and build up from them a complete picture of the whole. There is a gift or talent wherewith all living creatures are endowed, and whereby from certain major indications we recognize a thing. A man's voice, a signature, infinite as are their component parts, are grasped subconsciously at once and as a whole. We do not count or add, we see. To cause another to see is indeed a very different task from seeing, but it depends upon a recognition of the way in which things are seen; the good artist so paints that the public eye receives by sometimes a rare, always a limited, group of effects, the true and general effect of the whole subject; in the same manner the good historian so writes that sometimes by a very few, always by a limited group of truths, the general truth is presented to the reader.

In the light of these considerations it is evident why times less varied and less disturbed by wealth and knowledge were more propitious to the tradition of historical truth than is our own. The data out of which their chroniclers constructed histories were often erroneous, and in so far the history they presented was marred, though illuminated, by legend; but also they were compelled to grasp the main thing. They had only to choose among the few matters which had powerfully struck the imagination of

mankind. They could not pretend to write with accuracy, save of places within their immediate experience, nor of men save of such men as they knew. They would often tell fantastic tales which have done no harm because, with an expanded criticism, they can at once be discarded; but they did not suffer from that unhealthy phantasmagoria of knowledge which a profusion of books and maps and cant phrases conjure up before our eyes to-day. All men of the middle ages—nay, most men of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries—took self-government for granted and in every history denounced arbitrary power for a crime. They wrote for and of Western Europe, which they knew. They were not confused by an imagined acquaintance with those debased societies of Africa or of the East to which (it is now said) the elementary principles of politics do not apply. If they wrote falsely of what they did not know at all, their absurdity was glaring; the unmeasured belt of twilight in which we jostle and fail was to them, happily for them, an unapproachable night. The little circle of strong light which we neglect and which we are even now so little enabled to expand, was all their field.

In a dozen ways which are all connected with the fever of modern times, the exact presentation of the past is made difficult to-day; or, at least, the temptation to misrepresent the past and the power to misrepresent it have rapidly intensified together. It is possible that the evil has reached and even passed its climax, but at any rate that climax (if it be indeed passed) is still so near to us that an examination of the disease is at once possible and useful.

We still suffer from great masses of newly enfranchised readers, eager to learn and to accept. They still feel, in the check which Christianity still chafes under, the necessity for "leaders and teachers." They are still pathetically attached to fixed clichés of historical opinion. The paraphernalia of modern learning, the array of footnotes, the exaggeration of documentary evidence, the assimilation of all sciences to physics, the dogmatic reiteration of unproved formulæ still hamper our steps and still deceive the many. Worst of all the false analogy between commerce and study, the necessity for any historian that he should sell his books

widely and immediately, or at least the acceptance of such a renown as a criterion of authority, is still strong. And it is still the readiest way of being granted authority to recite, with an added pedantry, whatever popular errors may have tarnished the public mind. The reaction will come. Knowledge is good, not evil. That more men should know, and more men be anxious to know, is, in itself, the correction of too eager or too ill-directed an appetite for knowledge; just as the application and practice of that doctrine of popular sovereignty which is the recurrent glory of Europe, is the corrective for the political evils which must attend each new manifestation of it: the perfection of the thirteenth century was not attained by the repression, but by the cultivation, of the anarchic vigor of the twelfth. The reaction must come and may perhaps have begun already.

The last era of our expansion (the close of the eighteenth and the whole of the nineteenth centuries) was remarkable in the domain of history, not only for a marvelous accumulation of material, nor only for a bringing of that material within the reach of every man, but also for a group of writers who used it with power and produced a body of historical literature no other age can rival. There is, none the less, provoked in the readers of their works a certain hesitation. It is evident to all that the major questions of history have not been resolved, nor even nearly resolved. That repose which is the object of all labor has not been attained; our principal debates upon the past are still debated and the true interpretation of such enormous quarrels as the Reformation or the Revolution, which should (were they understood) be our guides for the future, is lacking. A distinction is not made between the various characters of those who would instruct, or between their various aims. Their method alone is considered and the fact that the method can be used falsely as well as truly, nay, that it is the more likely to be falsely used when it is the more insisted on, has been neglected.

It has therefore been suggested—or rather accepted—by too many that exact history is unattainable. If history—pursued upon scientific methods—leads to such an uncertainty, its study must be regarded as amusing rather than as profitable and its

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value as a prop to judgment disappears. It is observed that our laborious historians, with their interminable references to the bottom of the page and their intimate casual allusions to knowledge beyond the reach of the vulgar, differ very widely among themselves, but it is imagined that such differences are due to a certain temperament or "atmosphere" which defies analysis, which will be present in all historical work however minute and conscientious, and which is therefore discovered to be an inevitable vice in such work, making of all history a fluid and doubtful thing.

It is the object of what follows to show that such a despair is groundless. To discuss how a true history may be composed, even from the mass of material before us to-day, would exceed the limits of this; but it is possible within quite a few pages to prove by specific quotations that when a modern historian, however learned and however laborious, misleads us, he misleads us from very much the same weaknesses of vanity or passion as caused any honest chronicler of a simpler age to set down more palpable errors. There is but this difference, that the ancient will depend upon the authority of a shrine or the dread of sacred book where the modern will depend upon the authority of an abbreviated footnote or the dread of a name of weight with the million.

If we are to attempt an examination of the way in which the most authoritative modern history can deceive, it is best for our purpose to choose some author who has justly acquired a great reputation and who has dealt with some subject of considerable importance. It is necessary to choose one whose method was essentially "scientific"; who relied, that is, upon many authorities, who referred continually to his texts, who professed to repose his statements upon the evidence of documents, and who has therefore assumed in the eyes of his less learned contemporaries something of the majesty which attaches to chemists and engineers. Since the examination must be minute, it will be necessary to select but a small portion of his work; finally that portion, however small, must be typical of the whole.

In order to combine the various requirements of such a task, I will choose the historian Taine, and out of his work I will select the portrait he draws of Danton in his history of the Revolution.

It is short, it is typical, it is of the highest importance to the whole work, and is an excellent sample of it. It is eminently scientific. I will examine how far the bias which he discovers (if, indeed, he discovers any) is impalpable, and how far it will yield to analysis, as would that of an earlier and simpler man. The passage to which I propose to apply this test is the Second Division of the First Chapter of the Third Book of the third volume of the "*Origines de la France Contemporaine*," and the impagination to which I refer (which runs from page 172 to page 187) is that of the first edition of the work published in 1885.

The picture drawn is incisive, convincing, and of an admirable power. We have presented to us in clear, wrought prose such a character as would in any work of fiction stand out clean and homogeneous. Danton is a young barrister of no birth and no fortune, he is possessed of a barbarous energy and of a practical and sane, though a brutal and careless, spirit. He is penniless, yet, with such a temperament, avid of notoriety and of wealth. For such a man the Revolution is a godsend; he plunges into it, guides its worst excesses with a strong grasp, proves himself a mixture of capacity, indolence and excess and dies having furnished history with an example of the barbarian: by this epithet—a barbarian—Taine sums up a description which for its pressure of conviction is among the finest in his great work.

Were we to come across such a picture in some general essay it would remain with us permanently; set out as it is in all the externals which this sort of history affects, supported by cited facts and these in turn relying upon elaborate references, it does more. It presents itself as a final judgment and leaves upon the reader a sentiment of having reached an end. "Here," he will say, "I have Danton. It is not a man's opinion of him: it is a full and final appreciation based upon a mass of research with every authority quoted for me. So much learning and so much candor cannot err." As he accepts Danton, so he accepts any other creation in the book, for the method of portraiture is the same throughout, and he leaves it with that impression of the Revolution which Taine intended he should have. He does not go away thinking (as he would of a less elaborate and more personal

account), "This is Taine's view": he goes away thinking that he has received the cold result of an exhaustive research and of an unprejudiced historic method. In a word, he is become a victim of Scientific History.

The student who may happen to be closely acquainted with the life of Danton knows that the picture is false. But even he tends, as I have said, to regard it as a distortion rather than a fiction. He is troubled by a conviction that the errors of the recital proceed from a subtle something in the style of the great author, a something not subject to direct contradiction or disproof. I say, even the serious student tends to come to such a conclusion. If he remain in it he is himself but one victim the more to that method which it is the business of these pages to question. Such history is as attackable as any other kind of untruth; not only is it as assailable, but it must necessarily give way to a patient examination. It relies, as all judgments, true or false, must rely, upon a series of positive assertions; and if we scrutinize each of these in order, we shall be able to appreciate at its true value the fabric raised upon them.

On the first page where controversial matter is touched (page 177) the eye is immediately arrested by the phrase "*Danton thought of saving the king.*" Here is the first direct statement with which we shall have to deal; and it is worth while looking closely to see how so strange an introduction to the series is presented.

Let it be noted to begin with that when some extraordinary assertion is made in history it is less likely to be believed if it be made in a violent manner or introduced with special pomp. This assertion is, of course, a most extraordinary one. Of the known and admitted facts of Danton's life in connection with the king, the chief are these: that, more than any other one man, he planned the armed attack on the palace, and that, on the 16th of January, 1793, he above all others emphasized the necessity of killing the king: his was one of the decisive speeches that turned the scale. To have framed and emphasized so very improbable a tale would have lessened its chances. The straightforward and blundering historians of an earlier time would undoubtedly have committed

the error of leading in the story with a mixture of apology and solemnity. The modern does better; he alludes to it casually as something the reader will readily admit.

There are occasions, as I shall show in a moment, when Taine does not give his authorities; but he knew that this statement would appear too startling to too many critics for it to pass unchallenged: he therefore supports it by a footnote which he takes care to make both full of detail and formidable in dimensions. This footnote occupies half a page. The general reader glances at it and sees that it contains a lengthy and circumstantial story and is edified. Even of students the vast majority are caught: ninety-nine out of a hundred are satisfied that a learned footnote (of great length) exists and they go no further into the matter. The hundredth is critical. He reads it through, but he does no more. There is not one man in a thousand, nor in ten thousand, who sifts that footnote; and yet upon its value the whole credibility of the assertion reposes. This footnote is therefore worthy of a little study.

It tells us that a Comte de Lameth, "*the eldest of the Lameths*," is the authority for the story. A man unacquainted with the details of revolutionary history will not be surprised to read that title. He knows in a vague way that there were Lameths in the early revolution, and that they were men of importance. The name strikes him (Taine meant that it should) and helps to convince him. But the man acquainted with the history of the Revolution asks himself, How could the eldest of the Lameths be a *Count*? The eldest brother had, of course, the title of Marquis. This Lameth (says such a one to himself) must be that *second* brother, the senior of the three who sat in parliament, the soldier and author, whose special character it was to be a Whig because his two younger and abler brothers were Radicals. He emigrated with Lafayette on the 19th of August, 1792, and fled to Switzerland. Now let us see what story is fathered upon him. It is to the following effect: that he came back secretly from Switzerland in the December of 1792, went to Danton's house, found Danton in a bath, called him a wicked man, and appealed to him to save the king. Danton is then made to think for a while and to ask

for £40,000. The most ignorant and provincial of students would surely hesitate at this point; but there is worse to come. The aforesaid emigré approaches Pitt. Pitt refuses to save the life of the king of France.

Here we have a story which turns topsy-turvy the history of Europe, and which is made to repose upon the authority of this M. de Lameth, whose position among the political parties is inaccurately stated and the difficulties attaching to whose return and interview with such a man as Danton at such a time are not even hinted at. I say the story is made to repose upon the authority of this M. de Lameth. Where and when did he relate it? It will perhaps be thought that Taine heard the story from the old man himself. Alexandre de Lameth passed his last years in a country house not far from Paris; his great delight was to tell his guests stories about the Revolution, especially in the last years of a dotage of extraordinary length, between the ages of eighty-six and ninety-eight. True, of the enormous number of stories which the old fellow is known to have repeated in the last years of his excessive life, not one had any relation to this capital fact. In an old man perpetually relating his favorite legends that is remarkable, and one might suppose that Taine would at least have pledged his personal honor that the story was told for some strange reason in strict confidence to him alone. Had Taine said this he would have been believed, for the old man did not die till 1854, and Taine, then in the vigor of his youth, might have gathered some rambling account upon which to build this incredible story of Pitt and the rest of them. No, we have not even that authority. Taine admits that he had the story at second hand. Well, then, as a last satisfaction, we can register the name of this ultimate witness, who heard a story of such vast moment, denied to every other living man? Not a bit of it. Taine "had it from a gentleman of his acquaintance." And who is this gentleman of his acquaintance? We do not know. He is called "Mr. ——."

One may recapitulate the whole matter shortly thus: An intention of the utmost importance is ascribed to Danton, casually and as a matter of course, in half a line of the text. The assertion made in that half line is backed up by a very long footnote—

longer than the whole page above it and presenting, with its small print, a most circumstantial appearance. This footnote in its turn longer than the whole page above it—and presenting, with its detail and small print, a most circumstantial appearance. This footnote in its turn relates a rambling story, in which an emigré of violent prejudices (whose political position is misstated) sees Danton in a bath, then sees Pitt, and receives from Pitt a refusal to save Louis XVI. The story is given upon no authority. The eccentric emigré told it at some time before reaching the age of ninety-eight to a gentleman whose name is not given, and that emigré's habit of pouring out doubtful memories is carefully withheld.

So analyzed and so presented, the absurdity of those few words, "*Danton thought of saving the king,*" is glaring enough. But it is not glaring as Taine presents the thing. He deceives one by (a) the length of the prodigious footnote, (b) the false use of an authoritative name, (c) the suppression of the date upon which the story is said to have been told, and (d) the keeping to the very end the fact that he had it at third hand from an anonymous witness.

So much for the first statement on the first page. We have but to read a few lines further to find another of less importance, but worthy of attention because it is illustrative of the spirit which underlies all this elaborate parade of research.

This second statement comes upon the next page, page 178. It refers to Danton in the interval of his being called to the Bar and his marriage. It is as follows:

"*He wandered for long, penniless; and bided his time in the streets.*" The sentence is of course rhetorical, but at the very least it can only signify that Danton at this period was briefless, suffering from the constraint of poverty, hungry for the slightest change of fortune, and waiting long for it. Let us examine this statement.

In the first place the whole period dealt with is one of less than two years. Danton was called to the Bar in Rheims in 1785, came up to Paris in the latter part of the same year, and married in the middle of 1787. That even a highly successful barrister should have passed eighteen to twenty months of his youth in narrow cir-

cumstances would have nothing in it remarkable, but Danton, as a fact, was possessed during this short period of probation of more than most young barristers can boast: he had a capital of about £500 (\$1,500), and it would have been far larger had he not voluntarily helped his mother after her second marriage.

What briefs he got in that year and a half we cannot tell, for we have no records, but at the close of it he was in such a position as to find without the slightest difficulty mortgagees for the purchase at £3,000 (\$15,000) of an important office and to marry, well in his own middle-class rank, a girl with a dowry of something like £1,000 (\$5,000) of our present money.

In a word, his "pennilessness" (due to his own generosity to his mother) was represented by an estate of £500, the "long period" of his early poverty lasted less than two years, his "empty wanderings in the street" stand for a practice which permitted him a professional credit of £3,000 and led at once to a good marriage.

The third misstatement of the scientific historian is more instructive than this last, because it affords a special example of the use of that "apparatus of learning" which is essential to his effect.

It is a short footnote and runs thus: "*From 1787 to 1791 Danton is found pleading in but three disputed cases.*"

There is no one, reading such a sentence offhand, but would be struck by it. It gives, and is meant to give, the impression that Danton in the first three and a half years of his married life had but small success. It contains no literal falsehood—yet it tells a good round lie.

Danton, during these years, was practising at what we should call the Chancery Bar. This practice under the old régime was a close borough, places in which were bought and sold at from three to four years' purchase. He had, as we have seen, purchased his place in it. There is ample documentary evidence to prove that he paid over £3,000 (\$15,000) for the right of entry alone: that he earned from £800 (\$4,000) to £1,000 (\$5,000) a year when he had once entered it; that, on the suppression of the old privileges, he was reimbursed on the basis of such earnings.

The bulk of work in this division is not to be found in the records of the court. It consisted in Opinions, in Conveyancing, in the Draft of Contracts and Leases, in advising on important interests. Of the rare cases that did come into court, Danton is found retained for the most important; it was a case involving one of the principal fortunes of the country: he pleaded in the De Montbarey case, which is as though he had been retained to-day on the Chancery side for the Duke of Norfolk or the Duke of Devonshire. No one of his colleagues of a similar standing had a better position.

The impression, therefore, which Taine intended to convey is radically and wholly false. It may be urged that when a man feels strongly such errors will creep in, that they are errors of inference, not of fact, and that Taine showed a sufficient research, though his conclusions were wrong. The plea is insufficient.

All the documents upon which we base our knowledge of Danton's fortune were published between 1861 and 1865, and these documents are (or should be) commonplace to every serious student of the Revolution. Nay, more: Taine, when it suits his purpose, refers to them, and the proofs of this particular book of his were corrected more than nineteen years after the publication of those documents. He cannot by any possibility have been ignorant of them—but he knew that his readers would be. In that contrast you have the core of this species of history.

On this same page (page 178—the second of my analysis) I find a fourth remark. It is brief, but racy of the method I am engaged in examining. In the midst of describing Danton's poverty and ill-ease (upon which the conception of his venality and lawlessness depend) his home is mentioned. "*He was,*" says Taine, "*settled for the time in the wretched Passage du Commerce.*" Here is an admirable opportunity to rest awhile and contemplate the Scientific Historian.

The words were written in 1884 when modern Paris, with its new and broad streets, had been created for more than twenty years. In the whole of that transformation there is no sharper contrast than that between the old university streets and the new thoroughfares, and the sharpest point of that contrast is to be dis-

covered where the old Cour du Commerce was cut in two by the new boulevard St. Germain. The piercing of this great street had the effect of creating a new and splendid quarter at the gates of the old narrow court. It had once been a street like any other in the heart of the University. It was now a back-water. It naturally fell in value. The rents of Paris have nearly trebled in the last forty years, but I doubt whether the rents in the Cour du Commerce have not fallen. Moreover, the whole place has now something of an abandoned look. So it had when Taine's book was published. Had Taine been a foreigner or a very young man he might be excused upon the ground of error. Taine, writing in old age and with a good knowledge of Paris, was deliberately deceiving his readers. He depended upon an audience who could not, or of learned reactionaries who would not, criticise. So might an Englishman of the 50's have written of Sir Joshua Reynold's house that it stood in "the rather disreputable quarter of Leicester Square." But such an Englishman would not have been ingenuous.

If we reconstruct the plan of the flat we find it to have been in two stories, to have included a kitchen, a pantry, a cellar, four bedrooms, a large drawing-room, a lumber room and a library. The furniture (in early '93) was worth not quite £400 (\$2,000), though much of it was old; the library, which included seventy-three books in English (Smollet, Johnson, Adam Smith, Blackstone and many others) and forty-two in Italian, was valued at £100 (\$500). No one can pretend that it was the home of a wealthy man, but it was exactly, in rent, situation and furniture, what the home of a young lawyer having a successful career would be.

A few lines further on (upon page 179) I come to another characteristic passage: The Dantons, once married, were, says Taine, "*so poor as to be dependent upon weekly loans of 16s. or so, which they borrowed from the wife's father.*"

Danton had no debts; his affairs were examined upon several occasions; upon the reimbursement of his office, upon his death, and upon the proving of his estate when it was handed over to his sons. He had a well-furnished apartment (Taine knew every

item of the furniture) in the centre of a very good quarter; he had an excellent library (Taine knew every book); he was earning from £15 to £20 a week. Taine's average reader cannot know any of these facts, yet a knowledge vital to an appreciation of the phrase I have quoted.

To give his statement the true academic look the author adds a footnote. As is nearly always the case in this kind of history, if we are but at the pains of examining the authorities closely, the reference alone is destructive of the assertion based on it. The reference is to *Madame Roland's Memoirs*; their value in this connection is to be judged by the following facts: The memoirs were written by a woman of an ardent temper; they were written when she was lying under expectation of a violent death; as her pen traced these lines she believed (though erroneously) that Danton had helped to condemn her; and even so, the 16s. she talks of were but mentioned in a bit of gossip and five years old at that. This is the sole witness put forward against the mass of documentary evidence which Taine has carefully suppressed.

On the next page (179) no historical fact is mentioned save that Danton, when he was angry, swore. Taine is at the pains of bringing forward the evidence of Riouffe to this effect. He might have spared himself the labor. There is not the slightest doubt that Danton swore when he was angry. But on page 180 we come upon a statement made with just the same casual ease and of a very different order. Danton, we are told, "*congratulated the September murderers.*"

When and where did he congratulate them? What authority is there for the statement? Taine was very thoroughly acquainted with the literature of the history of the revolution; he knew, therefore, that this accusation was unsupported. He knew that when it had been challenged, years before he repeated it, it was found that no authority for it existed. There is no contemporary witness: and out of all the mass of rabid stuff that was written upon either side during that great quarrel, not a sentence of hearsay even can be quoted in support of the indictment.

On this occasion, as upon another which I shall cite in a moment, it seems to me that the scientific school of history has not

done its best. There was room for some mysterious footnote of a learned air which would have referred to a statement of no value made many years after the event, but which would have been given the illusion of temporary evidence. Such a footnote could easily have worn the terrible aspect of scholarship, and would surely have confounded the vulgar. As, for example,—

*“Cote F. wd. 1122. No. Fol. 6.”

The brief would be the stronger for it.

We next come (on page 181) to what may be called the capital clause of the whole series. “*Danton*,” says Taine, “*took money*.” Here is the most important affirmation which these pages contain; it is crucial. All historians have seen that this accusation was essential, not only to a certain view of Danton’s own character, but to the corresponding view of the whole period. It has been carefully discussed—and finally rejected—by every competent authority. If Danton be proved venal, the very meaning of the period, August, 1792 to September, 1793, will change. Now, so far as this analysis is concerned, the point to note is this: that the statement is made without a reference to any authority. That omission is very remarkable. It is remarkable because, of all the falsehoods which were once current in revolutionary history, none could on the face of it be backed up by more weighty authority.

Mirabeau asserts his knowledge that Danton was bribed (letter to Lamarck of the 10th March, 1791); so does De Molleville (I. 354), in a passage that is most positive and detailed. So does Lafayette (III. 83-85, IV. 328-330), so does Madame Elizabeth, so does Brissot (IV. 193-194), so does Madame Roland, so do the notes of St. Just. That is a fine array of witnesses, and if I may repeat the suggestion of a few pages back, an ingenuous and pompous footnote could easily be constructed from such a body of accusation, as for example:

*“Mirab: ‘Letters to Lam,’ March 10, 1791. De Molleville: Mem. I, 354; see also Lafayette: Mem. III, 83-85, IV, 328-330; cf. Statement of Madame Elizabeth and Madame Roland (Mem. 254-255. Ed. 1864). Also notes of St. Just, “*Papiers trouves*,” etc. Arch. Nat. Vit. 58, etc., etc.”

Here is a footnote as learned as an apothecary’s bill, and very well calculated to convince the modern reader. Why was it not added? Taine revelled in such things. They are of the essence of scientific history. Why is no such footnote to be found?

Simply because, fifteen years before Taine wrote, the legend had been blown sky high by the discovery of the document on which the whole string of stories reposed. That document was found to be the receipt, not for a bribe, but for the reimbursement of Danton's office. Of the original calumny there remained but a flavor in the minds of partisans. Taine relied upon that flavor: he risked a vague, rapid assertion, was careful not to support it by the smallest reference, and passed on.

The last examples of the method with which we are dealing are of less importance in themselves, but are of interest as an example of a manœuvre that has become somewhat common as scientific history has developed. These examples occur upon pages 183, 184, 185, 186, and the particular legends they proffer are made credible by jumbling together the false assertions with a number which are true, some false. The author gives, if he is able, his authority for the true ones, and trusts that the false ones will pass along with the rest. Thus, in the first example upon page 183, we have the following: "*Danton conducts the revolutionary days, the 10th of August, the 2d of September, the 31st May, the 2d June.*" Here is a list of colorless dates to be read rapidly as a whole. The only words of any importance are "the 2d of September." It is intended to assert that Danton was connected with the massacres of September, and this falsehood is slipped in among three truths, for Danton *did* conduct and plan the 10th of August; he *did* foresee and permit the 31st May and the 2d of June; he did *not* plan nor was he in any way responsible for the 2d of September:—but, whereas, the true dates refer to armed insurrections and occasions of courage, the false one stands for a cold-blooded and revolting massacre. So again, in the example on page 186, where it is said of Danton in the summer of 1793 that "*he goes off, enjoys himself, revels, and forgets.*" He did go off. He can hardly have enjoyed himself, for he was very ill. He most certainly did not revel; and as for forgetting, he was the one man in his group who did not forget. He was the one man who came back after the summer and organized that powerful attack upon the Terror which led him to the scaffold.

The section ends with page 187. On this page there are but four and one-half lines, and they contain no falsehoods.

Let us recapitulate and see what we have discovered. Taine devoted ten pages to the picture of Danton. In these ten pages he tells us:

- (1) That Danton thought of saving the King.
- (2) That before his marriage he was penniless and wandering in the streets.
- (3) That after his marriage he lived from hand to mouth by borrowing small sums from his father-in-law, whereby to keep going his wretched household in a poor quarter.
- (4) That he congratulated the September murderers.
- (5) That he took a large bribe.
- (6) That he organized the massacres of September.
- (7) That he spent the summer of 1793 in the abandonment of his public duties and in sensual enjoyment.

All these assertions are demonstrably false and are known to be false by every serious student of the Revolution, but our interest is not in their mere falsehood; it is in the method by which the falsehood is conveyed. We have seen that that method consists in the selection of unimportant or worthless evidence and the suppression of important or overwhelming evidence upon the other side. That it is helped by bamboozling the reader with footnotes of an austere appearance; that it further depends upon the slipping in of a false statement among a number of true ones, upon the casual, rapid and unsupported assertion of debatable or disproved accusations, and in general that the whole thing is bound up with a sort of pedantic charlatanism. Such history is written for a large and general public on the one hand, on the other for men who know their subject, but who sympathize too strongly with the bias of the author to expose or even to remark his errors. Such history is written in the prospect of attaining, and often with the object of attaining, a large sale. It depends for that circulation upon the flattery of a common prejudice. For its authority it depends in part upon a parade of the ornaments of its scholarship, and in part upon the reiteration of received opinions. It does infinite harm. It helps to fix in that accepted chronicle of the past which should form an object lesson of contemporary politics an erroneous conclusion. Whether this scientific history is at the serv-

ice of the reaction against political justice or of the reaction against traditional morality (and it is busy in the service of both), it teaches men false lessons, and the writers who have lent themselves to such a service warn us against the pursuit of good by affording us untrue examples of what will follow that quest.

I have dealt with but one such writer, and with but a very small part of the bad work he did. It is not difficult in the case of many another who has troubled our critical sense by his popularity and his assumption so to analyze and to dissect that the most superficial reader shall at last discover of what stuff his dogmas are made.

"ON READING"

GEORG BRANDES

A FEW years ago, several European newspapers advertised for a list of the hundred best books which should be in a first-class library. And the answers poured in: the Bible and *Robinson Crusoe*, Homer and Horace, Dante and Shakespeare, Holberg and Oehlenschläger, Goethe and Mickiewicz, Racine and Pascal, Arany and Petöfi, Cervantes and Calderon, Björnson and Ibsen, Tegner and Runeberg, each list characteristic of the country and the individual taste of the correspondent.

It is childish to suppose that a hundred books can be named which are the best for each and every one.

The simplest experience of the world proves that a work of great excellence which deeply moves one person leaves another untouched, and that a book which has influenced one strongly in his youth loses this influence in later years. There is practically nothing that everyone can read at every time.

This is not particularly noticeable, however, for the reason that nowadays there are very few people who can read at all, who enjoy reading, and gain some advantage from their reading. Out of a hundred who are able to read, ninety generally read nothing but newspapers, a species of reading which demands no exertion. It is also true that most people read without paying any particular attention; perhaps they select reading-matter which does not deserve any particular attention. What wonder, then, that they forget what they read? Everyone will recollect the frequent remark: "It is no use talking to me about this book or that book—I certainly read them—I believe—some years ago, but I have the unfortunate faculty of forgetting everything I read." Many, after all, are not accustomed to understand fully. For instance, when young people read books in foreign languages, often they do not look up in the dictionary the words they do not understand; they infer them from the sentence—so they say—that is, they understand half, and that is enough for them.

In cases of productions which, from their nature, are not in-

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tended to be grasped by the intellect, as, for example, lyric poetry, readers generally relinquish beforehand all idea of understanding exactly what the author means. An acquaintance of mine, in a company of ladies, once tried the experiment of reading aloud Goethe's *Gott und die Bayadere*, beginning each verse with the last line, and reading upwards. The rhymes fell without intermission, all the melody of the verses was retained—and everyone considered charming:

Sie neigt sich und biegt sich und reicht ihm den Strauss,
 Sie weiss sich so lieblich im Kreise zu tragen,
 Sie rührt sich, die Zimbeln zum Tanze zu schlagen,
 Und dies ist der Liebe Haus.

On reflecting a little upon this and similar phenomena, one readily finds oneself raising the questions:

Why should we read?

What should we read?

How should we read?

It is neither superfluous nor idle to raise these questions. I had been invited some few times to the home of a family of well-to-do people in a good position abroad, a house which took a certain standing in the artistic life of a capital city, when it struck me one day that I had never seen any book-case or book-shelves in the house. In reply to my query, I learnt that they had no book-case, nor any books, except two or three that were lying on the sitting-room table. "But you read, or have read a good deal?" I asked. "Oh, yes," was the answer; "we travel a great deal, as you know, and in the course of the year we buy a great many books; but we always leave them behind in the net" (meaning the nets of the railway carriages). And, by way of explanation: "You see, one never reads a book more than once."

I should have caused great astonishment had I replied that in this domain—perhaps in this alone—it is regarded as a changeless rule that one reading counts for nothing, and that he who restricts himself to one reading of a good book can know little about it. I have frequently read the books I value more than ten times; indeed, in some cases I could not possibly say how many times I

have read them. You do not really know a book until you know it almost by heart.

It is a good thing, too, if you have the means, to own your book. There are people who do not own any books, although they have the means. I was once invited, abroad, to the house of a rich Art Mæcenas, a man whose Art collections are worth considerably over a million, and when I had seen his paintings I said: "Now I should like to see the books. Where are they?" He replied, somewhat irritably, "I do not collect books." He had none.

There are people who are content with the provision afforded them by circulating libraries—a sorry method at the best. It is a sure sign of failing culture and poor taste when at every watering-place in a great country you invariably see ladies in expensive clothes, each with a greasy library novel in her hand. These ladies would be ashamed to borrow a dress, or wear clothes that any one else had worn, but they economize in book-buying. Thus they read one novel after another and the last supplants all knowledge of the preceding ones.

The man who replied: "I do not collect books" saw no necessity for reading. He belonged to the wealthy bourgeois class, and men of that class rarely have the time and the concentration for reading anything but newspapers. Outside the ranks of scholars, a strong and passionate love for reading is felt, in the main, only by those who have neither time nor means for it, the lower middle classes, artisans and workmen. Among these latter there is still to be found that thirst for education which distinguished the wealthy bourgeois classes a hundred years ago, but which was so quickly slaked.

Why should we read? is therefore the question that first requires an answer. I do not overestimate the knowledge that can be acquired through reading. In many cases it is necessarily only a poor apology for direct knowledge of the world and of life. It is of more use to travel widely than to read detailed and comprehensive descriptions of travels. You learn to know men better by observing them in real life than by investigating them in books. I will go still further and say that sculptures, paintings and draw-

ings, when they are the work of the greatest artists, are profoundly more instructive than the greater number of books. Michael Angelo, Titian, Velasquez, and Rembrandt have taught me more concerning humanity than whole libraries of books.

Books can at best present only a theory. A doctor must study his case; he cannot obtain all of his knowledge by reading, and neither can books teach us anything unless we also learn from life. If we have no knowledge of mankind, we cannot even enjoy a novel. We are not in a position to judge whether it gives a true or a false picture of circumstances as they are.

That this is so, we learn from the many foolish remarks with which in the course of the year one hears good books dismissed. "Nobody would feel or act like that"—is the offhand verdict of one or another who has only known a small circle of people, and who has never understood anything of what was going on in the minds of the persons around him. They term a book poor and unreal because it happens to be outside the reality with which they are acquainted. Their reality, however, is to actual reality what a duck-pond is to the ocean.

We are not to believe, then, that we can attain to any wisdom by devouring books. There are many qualifications necessary, merely in order to understand and make one's own the fraction of wisdom that a good book may contain: qualifications derived from life.

But, on the other hand, it is also true that books have certain advantages which men have not.

They set thoughts in motion; men seldom do. They are silent when they are not interrogated; men are seldom as discreet. How often one receives visits from intrusive, troublesome people! I have in my study from 7,000 to 8,000 books, which are never a trouble to me, often a pleasure. Finally, they are seldom as inane as people. One would frequently apply to the mass of humanity these words of Goethe's: "If they were books, I would not read them."

If I may be permitted an exceedingly trite observation, we ought also to read so as to add to our own experiences those of other, greater, and more competent men. We ought to read be-

cause in science the work and investigation of centuries is presented to us in a clear, condensed form, and because in written works of art we meet with a peculiar beauty and a beauty-loving personality that we can only learn to know in this way. Reading can make us keener and more susceptible to what is of value.

Furthermore, if reading affords no more than innocent entertainment, it is worth while, in the wearisomeness and monotonous exertion of daily life. Pure reading for amusement is by no means to be despised—so long as it does amuse.

Many will add: We should read to become better men and women, and consequently they demand that stress should be laid upon exhortatory books, at the expense of the rest of literature; literature must be moral, and operate morally; books must be sermons. Far be it from me to deny that one may grow better through reading, but that depends chiefly upon *how* one reads, and we have not yet arrived at that question. As a rule, however, we may say that nothing in the world improves one less than sermonizing books and conversations; nothing is more wearisome, quite apart from the fact that nothing is more inartistic. Just as you cannot train by constant scolding, neither can you by everlasting preaching. The moral lesson which teaches us most is given only by example. And the moralizing book is no example. Everyone knows the precepts they were taught in their childhood: not to act selfishly, nor think basely; not to lie, nor cheat, nor injure, nor kill. We all know them so well that they make no impression upon us, even when we see them illustrated in a poetical composition. We dare not demand of an author that he should work to make us better: that would be laying too heavy a burden upon him. All that we can demand from him is that he work conscientiously, and that he have it in him to teach us something.

Also, we can avoid the books that would debase us. But that leads to our second question:

What should we read?

What do we read? Newspapers. No one will deny that newspaper reading has become a necessity to us all, and that the papers rapidly and (occasionally) conscientiously impart knowledge, though, it is true, of a very scattered kind. Day after day

they teach us all sorts of interesting things and point the way to much other reading. As soon as we turn out of bed, we cannot rest till we are whirled round through Europe, Africa, Asia and America. The editor can say, as the ditty has it, "I whirl my hens six or seven times round." And at the same time, he fills up his readers with the news of the day, often as interesting as that Mr. J. Jensen, the bill-broker, is staying in the country at Ordrup, or that Mr. P. Larsen, the painter, is spending the Summer in the district of Horn.

We have, moreover, a desire to see our opinions, which are sometimes little else than prejudices instilled into us by others, expressed and advocated in print better than we ourselves should be capable of doing. The foolish newspapers' foolish readers require, moreover, to be crammed with all sorts of private scandal, partly that they may see those politicians or literary men who are independent in their views, and consequently unpopular, properly crushed. This last is a peculiarly Danish relaxation. The acknowledged good-nature of the Danish people is counterbalanced by an extraordinarily pronounced petty malice. As other nations enjoy bull-fights, cock-fights, and boxers' bleeding noses, so the Danish public take delight in every sort of private persecution and private scandal published in their press.

There are only two things one would wish for newspaper readers: that they should be able to read their favorite paper with some criticism and that they should not be so satisfied with this kind of reading that they become incapable of any other. At the beginning of this article I set about replying to the opinion that there ought to be a certain definite number of books which can be designated as the best for everyone.

There is one book of books that is generally regarded as the most suitable of all for general and constant reading, *the* very best book: this is the Bible. Few books, however, prove so conclusively as does this that the bulk of mankind cannot read at all. The so-called Old Testament comprises, as is well known, all that is left to us of the ancient Hebrew literature of a period of 800 years, together with some few books in Greek. It includes writings of the most various value and the most various origin, which

have come down to us with text edited comparatively recently, **often corrupt and marred in addition by endless copying**, writings ascribed as a rule to men who never wrote them, nearly all difficult to understand, and demanding extensive historical knowledge in order to be read with the smallest profit.

Certain of the books of the Old Testament, like the collection which bears the name of Isaiah, contain some of the sublimest poetry of antiquity that is extant, a witness to the purest craving for righteousness, to the highest religious development which was to be found on earth at that time (750 to 500 years before our era). Others, as for example the Chronicles, are of less value, and are not strictly accurate in their accounts.

There is much evidence that such reading confuses men's minds. But if the acknowledged "best" book cannot be called good for everyone, then how much less the classics! In the majority of well-to-do homes the so-called classical works are to be found in every book-case. But it is surprisingly true that they stand there principally for show; they are seldom or never read and give but little pleasure when they are read, because it is a mere chance whether they are understood. The classical writers wrote for an earlier generation, and consequently contain as a rule something that is alien to the rising generation. For this reason it is perhaps best to begin with the books which have been written for those now living. Young people will quite understand these, and they will prepare the way for the great writers of the past. Again, the classics not infrequently stand upon the book-shelves as involuntary witnesses to their owner's lack of individuality. As a rule, he has had no personal affection for them, and consequently possesses only what his social position requires. It is true that in this way he will often have good books. But the credit of the selection will only in a very small measure be his own; and the good books will generally be of the past, rarely those of the present.

The average man is inimically inclined to new thoughts and new forms. In their lifetime—if they do not live to be very old—geniuses always have the majority against them. It is not at all surprising that they live and die unrecognized; the amazing thing

is that they occasionally are recognized. This is partly due to the fact that what is truly excellent operates with a wonderfully compelling force. The good, in the mass, has a corrosive action upon the mediocre; it eats its way through. There are a few—connoisseurs, judges of art—who proclaim the worth of the good books so loud and so long that they frighten the snobbish into the fear of being called stupid, if they scoff any longer, and act in a regularly hypnotic manner on the people, so that the latter believe they think the good, good, and in time familiarize themselves with it.

It is of course right to aim at a common, solid educational basis, to put into a child's hands adventures, *Robinson Crusoe*, the *Odyssey*, to let a boy or a girl read Walter Scott, and a young man make acquaintance with Falstaff and Don Quixote; young people of both sexes soon learn to know what is accessible to them of Shakespeare and Goethe. In the same way it would be unnatural to let a Danish boy or girl grow up without some knowledge of the chief writers of their own country. The man or woman who does not know *Jeppe paa Bjerget* and *Erasmus Montanus* is outside his fellow-countrymen's pale of culture.

It is, however, a sign of lack of individuality that so few people have favorite authors and favorite books that lie a little off the beaten track. Occasionally it happens. The English historian, Gibbon, for instance, is no longer generally read. Yet I know a German painter and poet who has read with enjoyment, not once, but many times, the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Gibbon's wide vision, great intellectual freedom, and extraordinary descriptive power give his work lasting value, and to this reader Gibbon is the master of historical writing.

In Denmark, Christian Zahrtmann, the painter, has read Leonora Christina's *Jammersminde* for years, over and over again, with such absorption that the book has grown to be part of him, and has given birth to a long series of original and important pictures. We ought to read what is of most value to us, as he has read that book. There is unfortunately so little forcible originality and singularity amongst us.

But, you will ask, how am I to find the good books which will

appeal directly to me? It is as difficult to indicate an infallible method of finding such books as of meeting the people whom you should know for your own pleasure and advantage. All that is possible is to warn against the methods which do not lead to that end.

There are people who think it is not necessary that they should read books themselves, because they can get their information in other ways. Many prefer a general survey of everything, and believe they see most when they see most widely, and seize eager hold of that class of book which begins with the creation of the world and ends with our own day, the so-called literary histories of the world.

This is exactly the class of book which does most harm. No one man is capable of writing them, and, as they are written, they are far more likely to stupefy than to instruct. The author of such a literary history of the world speaks familiarly of books written in half a hundred languages, with which it would not be possible for him to be more than slightly acquainted. If he had begun to read before he was born, and had never done anything else, never enjoyed life, never slept, never eaten nor drunk, but only read, until he published his book, he would not have had time to read more than a very small portion of the books he mentions and criticises. He can only know most imperfectly himself that which he wishes to impart to others and his teaching will be like his knowledge.

A book which is really to instruct must embrace either a single country, or a short, definite period. One might almost say: the shorter the period, the better. The comparative narrowness of the subject does not render the book narrow. What is great and comprehensive is only produced by greatness of treatment, by the author's comprehensive vision, not by his endeavor to cover an immense field. The infinite is not immensely much; it arises from the symbolic treatment of detail. A naturalist can discuss an insect in such a manner as to reveal an insight into the universe. In the same way, the great writer will always treat his subject symbolically. Even when he is writing about a short period or an individual, through his description of the subject, his explana-

tion of the subject, and his criticism of the subject—there are always these three themes—he will reveal the laws of all progress and of all intellectual activity.

Eschew, therefore, immense general surveys! Replace them by an encyclopædia! An encyclopædia does not pretend to be individual. It pretends no more than to contain dry information, preferably correct, about men and books.

There is nowadays a superstition in favor of so-called general education—a word I am a little afraid of. We read in order to obtain a general education, but our reading easily becomes so general that there is no education in it. We read, now about whales, now about the Congo State, now about the drama, now about teeth, now about socialism in Bavaria, now about popular ballads in Servia, now about the 1830 Revolution—a heterogeneous collection of facts—and we consider ourselves generally educated.

Everyone who can do anything, can do something in particular. From the particular, windows open out into the general. There are far fewer roads that lead from the purely general to special knowledge. So if the question be asked: What should we read? I would reply: Better by far read ten books about one thing or about one man than a hundred books about a hundred different things!

Suppose that one wanted to try to learn something about English parliamentary proceedings; would there be any sense in taking up *Hansard*, that is, the collected stenographic reports of parliamentary proceedings, and trying to read them through for some decennaries or more? The man who did so would certainly be driven almost mad.

I was very much interested at one time in the English politician and novelist Lord Beaconsfield; at the outset, in that particular man only. I began by reading what he had written in the way of novels and tales, and afterwards followed up the history of his public life. I thus came also to his political speeches in parliament. And as my interest had a centre, all these speeches about subjects that would not otherwise have engaged my attention enthralled me, and not his speeches only, but all the speeches made by his colleagues, and especially by his enemies and oppo-

nents. He had enemies in plenty, each with his own individuality. These individualities interested me in a degree, because the man with whom they quarreled interested me greatly, and in this way a considerable period of English political history, which would otherwise have been rather out of my way became exceedingly attractive to me.

Therefore, as soon as a person or a thing interests my reader, my advice is: seize it, absorb yourself in it. You will learn a thousand times more by so doing than by absorbing yourself in a thousand things and people. The object widens before your gaze, and gradually expands to a whole horizon. But never begin with the horizon; you will know nothing of what you see.

After all, the real importance lies, not in the book, but in the way in which it is read. I do not, of course, mean to say that there are not numbers of poor books which it is a waste of time to have anything to do with. People warn, and justly, against dangerous books, and occasionally the books designated as dangerous really are so. But these dangerous books are not only those which speculate in the youthful reader's sensual impulses, or appeal to his idleness and frivolity, but they are likewise those that represent base and low things as admirable, or disseminate prejudices, and place liberal-mindedness, or the pursuit of freedom, in a hateful light.

Useful or baneful, dangerous or safe, we are dealing with relative conceptions. Books which give a childish, and thus an erroneous picture of human nature (such, for instance, as Ingemann's historical novels), may possibly be placed without any great danger in the hands of children of from ten to twelve years of age; older children, they may easily harm. Generally speaking, books which contain no nutritive matter for grown-up people, may very well contain aliment and entertainment for children. And on the other hand, there are numbers of books written with no objectionable intention which describe circumstances, vices, and conflicts between passions and duties, which it would be in the highest degree unwise to place in the hands of undeveloped readers, although this does not in any way lessen their value or render them less calculated to be read by those whose minds are more mature and whose opinions are fixed.

Next to the dangerous books are the wearisome books, and it is a sorry superstition that leads people involuntarily to cherish a certain respect for the earnestness and erudition that weary them. Wearisome books discourage people from acquiring knowledge.

Histories, for example, are often frightfully wearisome; but how many patient people keep on reading them because they regard it as a sort of duty! Do not waste your time and energies over what is dry as dust, unless, as a specialist, you are seeking for information! History is, and ought to be, the most interesting of all subjects. In my opinion, it is far more interesting to hear something about real men and women than fictitious ones, even if the latter were drawn from life. But historians sometimes take too little pains, and describe men merely from the outside, without first seeking to acquire that intimate personal knowledge which enables an author to understand the character and motives of his hero.

I was sitting, one evening, in a German university town, by the side of a little Professor of History, who informed me that he was at work on a book upon Bothwell, the wild Scottish Earl, Mary Stuart's lover, Darnley's murderer. I exclaimed involuntarily, with a glance at him: "It must be very difficult for you (I meant: for *you*) to enter into his feelings." "There is not the slightest occasion," he answered. "I have all the documents." After a score of years, I still remember this reply, it made so deep an impression upon me. The documents were there, but not the breath of life, none of the individuality of the author.

Read, in comparison, such books as Carlyle's *Cromwell* and the first volume of his *Frederick the Great*, or Michelet's *History of France* and Mommsen's *Roman History*. Here, on each page, the characters are alive and seem coming forward to meet us. The question, therefore, What should we read, brings us immediately to the companion question:

How should we read?

Young girls sometimes make use of the expression: "Reading books to read one's self." They prefer the book which presents some resemblance to their own experiences and circumstances. It is true that we can never understand except through ourselves.

Still, when we want to understand a book, it is not our aim to find ourselves in that book, but to grasp clearly the meaning the author has sought to convey through the characters which he presents.

We reach through the book to the soul that created it. And when we have learned as much as this of the author, we often wish to read more of his works. We suspect that there is some connection between the different things he has written, and by reading them connectedly we understand them and him better.

Take, for instance, Henrik Ibsen's tragedy, *Gengangere* (*Ghosts*). When *Gengangere* was published, this earnest and profound play was almost unanimously rejected as an immoral publication. Ibsen's next work, *En Folkefjende* (*An Enemy of the People*), describes, as is well known, the ill-treatment received by a doctor in a little seaside town, when he points out the fact that the bathing-water is contaminated. The town does not want such a report spread; it is not willing to incur the necessary expensive reparation, but elects instead to abuse the doctor, treating him as if he, and not the water, were the contaminating element. The play was an answer to the reception given to *Gengangere*, and, when we perceive this fact, we read it in a new light. We ought, then, preferably to read so as to comprehend the connection between an author's books.

Further, it is well to read in such a manner as to perceive the connection between his books and those of the men who have influenced him, or whom he influences. Pause a moment over *Folkefjenden*, and recollect the stress laid in that upon the majority who, as a majority, are almost always in the wrong, against the emancipated individual, in the right: recollect the concluding reply about the strength that comes from standing alone. If the reader, struck by the force and singularity of these thoughts, were to trace whether they had previously been enunciated in Scandinavian books, he would find them expressed with quite fundamental energy throughout the writings of Søren Kierkegaard, and he would discern a connection between Norwegian and Danish literature and observe how an influence from one country was asserting itself in the other. Thus, by careful reading,

we reach, through the book, to the man behind it, to the great intellectual cohesion in which he stands, and to the influence which he, in his turn, exerts.

Still, this mode of reading is not for everyone. Only those who are critically inclined pursue it. On the other hand, everyone can read in such a manner as to deduce the moral lesson contained in what they read.

I said above: We are not to believe that we become better by mere reading, nor are we to demand that an author should improve us by moralizing. We ought, nevertheless, to read in such a manner that we appropriate from what we have read the moral lesson that lies hidden behind it.

I will select as an instance the siege and surrender of Soissons, on March 3, 1814.

After the battle of Leipzig, Napoleon's position was as follows: He had from sixty to seventy thousand men under arms, exhausted, broken-down troops, the majority of them mere children. Opposed to them were three hundred thousand men, hardy and victorious soldiers. His generals were marching into France in disorder. What does Napoleon do? He hastens wherever the danger is greatest, reassures his troops, hurls them against the invading enemy, wins a victory at Brienne, and at La Rothière, one to four, sometimes one to five. But he dares not attack such superior numbers; like a beast of prey, crouching ready to spring, he awaits some favorable chance, some mistake, which he is convinced the enemy will yet commit.

The mistake is made; Blücher and Schwarzenberg advance separately. Napoleon flings himself upon Blücher, defeats him four days in succession, next falls upon Schwarzenberg, puts him to flight, rejects offers of peace, because the enemy will not concede France her natural boundaries, and hastens after Blücher again, to crush him completely and re-establish his own power.

Then suddenly everything is changed: the little fortress of Soissons, which prevented Blücher and Schwarzenberg from combining their forces afresh, surrenders at the decisive moment. "Blücher's defeat," says Thiers, "was as certain as anything in a war can be. For the first time in this campaign not only the

strategic, but also the numerical superiority, were on Napoleon's side. . . . What was it that was able thus to overthrow circumstances and fortune? A weak man, who, without being either a traitor or a coward, or even a poor officer, allowed himself to be terrified by the enemy's threats. Thus was consummated the most baleful event in our history, next to that which occurred the following year, between Wavre and Waterloo."

Read the story in the best modern presentment of it, Henri Houssaye's book, 1814:

The fortress of Soissons had always been regarded as an important strategic point. But before 1814 no one had thought of putting it in a state of defence. Who thought of an invasion of France! The outworks were in ruins. Repairs were set on foot, and the command given over to Governor-General Moreau (no relation of the celebrated Moreau). The garrison consisted of a handful of men, 700 Poles, broken-hearted, because they saw their country's cause lost, but despite this unswervingly attached to Napoleon; 140 gunners of the Old Guard, and 80 cavalry. The place was equipped with twenty light cannon.

There were, therefore, in all, between 900 and 1,000 men. Without the fortress stood 50,000 men, the Russians under Winzingerode, the Prussians under Blücher, and an artillery corps with 40 heavy cannon. The cannonade began on March 2, at 11 o'clock in the morning. By 12 o'clock the gun-carriages had been shot away from several of the fortress cannon, and a number of the men disabled. At 3 o'clock the Russian column made an assault. It was repulsed by 300 Poles under Colonel Koszynski. That day the little garrison had 23 killed and 123 wounded.

In the meantime the two allied generals were hearing a steady cannonade in the direction of Qurcq and were growing uneasy. After twelve hours' bombardment, they had still been unable to make a breach. It might possibly require twelve or even thirty-six hours yet, and they had not the time to spare. They were only a day's march in front of Napoleon, and he was following at their heels.

Blücher sent Captain Mertens to parley. When Moreau found that he was talking of the surrender of the fortress, he

broke off the discussion, but instead of dismissing the captain without further ado, he replied that he could not enter into verbal proposals with an officer who had not brought written authority with him. An hour later, Mertens was in the town again with a letter. An energetic officer would not have heard the parlementaire a second time; the condition of the fortress was not desperate. Moreau could have taken advantage of the night to repair the damage he had sustained.

Like a clever diplomatist, Mertens exhausted himself in compliments upon the courage of the garrison and the Governor, reminded Moreau of the inadequacy of his troops, and the strength of the allies, 50 to 1; it was a great responsibility, for the sake of a useless resistance, to expose the town to being taken by storm, and as a result pillaged and burnt.—Moreau responded with the expression that he would let himself be buried under the ruins of his walls. But Mertens, who read his uncertainty, did not allow himself to be overawed, and represented to him that, after an honorable capitulation, he would be at liberty to join the imperial army.

He appealed to the weak man's sense of duty, by saying that in one or two, or three days at most, Soissons would be compelled to surrender in any case; those of the soldiers who survived the assault would then become prisoners of war, and the inhabitants of the town would be exposed to the horrors of pillage. Now the garrison might march out free.

Nothing more was required of Moreau than to obey his orders. The regulations prescribed, "Make use of every means of defence, be deaf to intelligence communicated by the enemy, and be as proof against their whispers as against their attacks." Further, they read: "The Governor of a fortress must remember that he is defending one of the bulwarks of the Empire, and that his surrender one single day before the time may be attended with the most important consequences for the defence of the state and the safety of the army."

Moreau had several times shown himself to be a brave man. Men did not attain to the rank of general under Napoleon without proof of courage. But he was not heroic; doubtless he regarded the Emperor's cause as lost, as did most of the generals. He did not wish to sacrifice himself uselessly.

He summoned a council of war. There were shown to be still 3,000 gun-charges left and 200,000 cartridges. The votes were divided, but nevertheless the wish to continue the defence triumphed. Scarcely, however, had the council dispersed than another parlementaire arrived with a letter in which the words *assault, pillage and hew down* occurred with disquieting and terrifying effect. A fresh council of war met, and yielded; the Polish colonel was the only one who advocated resistance, but being a foreigner he had no vote.

Moreau then took the parlementaire aside, and agreed to the capitulation, on condition that the town should have no contribution levied upon it, and that the garrison should be allowed to march out with their arms and baggage. The enemy agreed. The Governor's orders, however, said: "When the council has been heard, the Governor of a fortress must decide alone and on his own responsibility. He must follow the firmest and most intrepid counsel that is not absolutely impracticable."

Day broke. The constant coming and going of the ambassadors, the cessation of the firing, the frightful stillness, like the silence in a room where someone is dying, made the troops begin to feel uneasy. Were they to lay down their arms after having defended themselves so well? Misgivings increased. Murmurings went through the ranks, the indignation of the inhabitants mingling with that of the soldiers. The words *coward* and *traitor* were linked with Moreau's name.

It was 9 o'clock in the morning. Suddenly a deafening cannonade in the direction of Qurcq was heard. All start at the sound. Then follows an explosion of hope and resentment in the cry: "It is the Emperor's cannon! The Emperor is coming! *C'est le canon de l'Empereur!*" the shout that during the whole war had been the signal for fresh courage among the French and which struck terror to the hearts of the enemy. It might be possible to stand against Napoleon's generals, but they trembled before the approach of the man himself.

On every side the cry arose: Tear the capitulation to pieces, the Emperor is coming! The dispute was still unsettled as to how many cannon the French might take with them, two or more.

The altercation grew hot. Then General Woronzof said in Russian to Löwenstern: "Let them take all their artillery with them, and mine too, so long as they vacate the fortress and go!"

The document was scarcely signed when the sound of the cannonade was distinctly heard near at hand. Moreau grew pale; he seized Löwenstern by the arm, and said: "You have tricked me. The firing is coming nearer. It is Blücher who is fleeing. Had I not surrendered the Emperor would have driven Blücher into the Aisne. He will have me shot. I am lost."

Napoleon pardoned him: but there is evidence to show that if the Governor had not capitulated then, orders had been given to raise the siege the next day.

There was a saying in France at that time that a man should always fire his last shot, because it might be the one to kill the enemy. Moreau did not fire it. Had he done so, according to all human calculation, the enemies of France would have been beaten, and the Europe of to-day might have been different.

I know no story more suggestive, or more profound, than this of the siege of Soissons. I know nothing more moral.

There is no need to raise the objection that it is exceedingly uncertain whether, if Napoleon had beaten the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians in 1814 he would not still have been ruined by some later combination of circumstances. It is quite as possible that he would have held out. He had become a different man; he was no longer swayed by ambitious dreams alone. All the greatness in him had been developed as it had never been before.

Let us allow this concession for a moment; the case then becomes greater and more important. We will suppose it thus: If Soissons had been held, Europe would have been spared fifteen years of terrible reaction. The fate of Europe was hanging on a thread. And it was snapped, not by cowardice or treachery, not by terrible privation, in presence of which all better men are at their post, but by loyal, honorable small-mindedness. In this story we have the psychology of honorable small-mindedness.

You feel it coming, step by step. There are reasons galore for not doing the only thing that ought to be done.

You are 800 against 50,000. Is that a reason? You have fought bravely the whole day through against tremendous odds. Is that a reason? In any case you can only hold out a very short time. Is that a reason? By remaining firm you are hazarding the welfare of countless human beings. That is, by being small-minded, you may, possibly, probably, save the lives of worthy men. By yielding now you hope to be able to prove yourself a hero another time. As if these were reasons!

This is the task you dare not shirk. This is the higher command, which must be unconditionally obeyed. This is the will of Cæsar, the Cæsar unto whom we must all render what is his own. This is Rhodes: we must dance here. This is the spot in the universe upon which the decision depends.

And none of us can ever know whether the spot whereon we stand may not be such a turning point, whence interminable threads start in all directions. We do not know. The only thing that we do know is that now is the time to be a man, and not a weakling, a Governor, not a capitulant. And if we do not stand firm, if with the greatest respect for the circumstances, we yield, and in the most honorable manner in the world, with drums beating, and trumpets sounding, we sign the capitulation, . . . close at hand we will hear the Emperor's guns thundering loudly, and we shall feel ourselves rejected and lost, worthy of a wretch's death.

When we read so that we personally assimilate what we have read, we feel that this is the central point in the course of circumstances, in the origin of actions, the central point of character, the central point of will, the central point of passion, the Archimidean spot whence the earth can be moved—the nerve of events and even of history lies bared before our eyes.

Why should we read, then? To increase our knowledge, divest ourselves of prejudices, and in an ever greater degree become personalities. What should we read? The books that attract us and hold us fast, because they are exactly suited to us. These books are the good books for us.

Someone asked a friend of mine: "What kind of books do you prefer?—romantic, naturalistic, allegorical?" "Good

books," he answered, and it was an excellent reply; for there is nothing more stupid than to stick to rubrics. That book is good for me, which develops me.

How ought we to read these books? First, with affection; next, with criticism, further, if possible, so that our reading has a central point, from which we may guess or descry a connection, and, lastly, with the aim of fully understanding and making our own the moral lesson to be found in every event narrated.

A whole world can thus open itself out for us in a single book. Through it we can become acquainted with some parts of human nature, wherein we recognize not only ourselves, changeable and rich in alterations and transformations, but we find the unchangeable being and eternal laws of Nature. Lastly, if we read attentively, we are able to grow morally, in so far as we vividly feel what ought to be done and what ought to be left undone.

THE CHURCH AND THE INDIVIDUAL

C. H. TOY

THE human desire for certainty and stability expresses itself most vigorously in the sphere of religion. Organized social religion undertakes to announce the nature of God and of His government of the world, to expound His will and to set forth the means by which His favor is to be secured in this world and the next. On these points it allows no appeal from its decision; if a section of society protests against the current religious scheme, it straightway proceeds to set up a scheme not less absolute than the other. So momentous a system naturally tends to draw under its dominion the whole of life. Though ethics is entirely distinct in origin and content from religion, yet, as the two are in practice always closely united, religion adopts ethics, gives it supernatural sanction, and comes to regard itself as its creator and guardian. In like manner it assumes control of all social facts that bear on the moral life or the general well-being of society: it undertakes to fix the laws regulating the family, and to determine the relation between capital and labor; it enters the political arena, and decides questions as to the best form of government, the relation of civil government to the Church and the duty of the citizen to his government. As the self-appointed guardian of sacred books, it assumes the right to decide on the conclusions of science (including philosophy), so far as these bear on the statements of such books.

Absolutism makes for external unity and peace. A wise, just and benevolent political despot would be in this regard a great boon to the world. If all the world were to accept one form of religion, men would be saved much apprehension, heart-burning and strife. On the other hand, despotism, even when pure-minded and just, would seem to crush thought—a despot, even if divine, can hardly be conceived of as securing freewill among men. But man insists on freedom, and thus a conflict between it and absolutism, or, better stated, the effort to harmonize the two, is inevitable. A large part of the external history of modern religion deals with trials of strength between the two demands.

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In the ancient world there was small opportunity for a conflict between the two: church and state were one, and the social and scientific questions of to-day had hardly taken shape. It was the state that was the absolute body; the national religion was regarded as part of the national life, and deviations from the traditional cult were treated as offences against the established order; social sins were condemned by religious teachers, but in the name of the moral sense of the community, which was held to have divine sanction. The opposition of the Hebrew prophets to foreign cults was primarily a nationalist movement, though it had doubtless an ethical side; in their denunciation of the oppression of the poor by the rich and of other social faults they were the mouthpiece of the whole body of thinking men of the time—they were not socialists (as Renan maintained), but simply moral teachers who, of course, identified their morality with the will of God; but Elisha willingly called in the aid of such a ruffian as Jehu to put down the Tyrian cult that Jezebel had introduced. In Greece and Rome also addiction to a foreign cult was an offence against the state: such was the charge against Socrates, and such was the ground on which the early Roman emperors persecuted the Christians.

In all these cases the religion of the land claimed absolute obedience from the citizens—there was clash between native and foreign faiths—but the conditions of the time did not permit a conflict between religion and science. This sort of supremacy of the national cult was found in ancient Egypt and Persia, and in India and China. The simplicity of the religious condition in Egypt is illustrated by the attempt of King Amenhotep to establish the worship of the disk of the sun: the King's authority was able to make the change he desired, but soon after his death the old situation was restored without a struggle. In India Buddhism arose as a development out of Brahmanism, maintained itself somewhat over a thousand years, and then quietly left its native land. The fortunes of Zoroastrianism in Persia were political, and China has no native religious history except the noiseless native movement that has been produced by the spread of intellectual and moral culture.

Such was the case with all religious organizations in the period when as yet their dogmas had not been brought face to face with the formulations of philosophy and the physical and social sciences. It was otherwise when Christianity and Islam entered the field—religions with sacred books that were held to state or to involve definite schemes of the world. The homes of these religions were in regions that after a while felt the influence of Greek philosophy, and the dogmas of this philosophy were in some points not in accord with the accepted interpretation of these books, held to be divinely inspired, and therefore absolutely authoritative.

The first conflict between the two authorities took place in the Moslem world. Greek philosophy touched Islam in Damascus in the seventh and eighth centuries of our era, and was afterwards zealously cultivated under the Abbassides, especially from the ninth century onward. By the philosophic or rationalist party (the Motazelites) the Koran was so interpreted as to eliminate anthropomorphic representations of the deity and to emphasize the freedom of the human will. Against this interpretation the orthodox majority protested vigorously. The contest continued for some time, first one party and then the other having the support of the civil government, neither yielding to the other in violence; one of the heroic episodes of the time is the calm courage and patient endurance of the eminent orthodox doctor, Ibn Hanbal (in the ninth century) under a long-continued series of insults and blows. Finally a view meant to harmonize conflicting opinions was put forth (by Al-Ashari), and secured quiet for the moment. Practically the victory remained with the literalistic or orthodox religious position, which was accepted later by Moslem civil and religious leaders in Asia, Turkey and Africa; but the study of philosophy continued to be carried on, sometimes openly, sometimes in private.

In Moslem Spain the career of philosophy was more brilliant and effective. The interpretation of Aristotle by Averroes and others created a great school; Cordova became the philosophic centre of Europe, the resort not only of Moslems, but also of Christians. Through Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas Christian theology received a Hellenic coloring, not in such a way

as to antagonize accepted dogmas directly, rather so as to pave the way for a rationalistic conception of religious doctrine. In Islam itself the effect of the Cordova teaching, though great for the moment, was not permanent—it ceased in Spain with the fall of the Moslem states, and it found no acceptance with Berbers and Turks. Its influence on Jewish thought was more important. The theology of Maimonides divided the Jewish world for a time into two parties, and though here, as in Islam, philosophical investigation, at least in organized form, was crushed or repressed, Maimonides has continued to be a power, being in some Jewish communities, as, for example, in Russia, the only accessible stimulus to freedom of thought. In general, in Islam and Judaism, while the traditional religious conception of the world has maintained its supremacy (except when affected by outside influences), there has been a silent and subtle influence of philosophic thought on many individuals.

Neither Moslems nor Jews have formulated theories of official religious control of social life. In the case of the Jews this silence is accounted for in part by their scattered condition, which involves absence of political organization, and by their isolation, which has held them aloof from a number of modern problems. Under the sway of the Koran the civilization of Arabs, Persians and Turks (though these peoples all have capacity for culture) has been moulded in recent times on simple old traditional lines, and there has been little or no religious or scientific activity. The revolts that have occurred against the established orthodoxy illustrate, with one exception, the stagnancy of the Moslem world. The Wahhabite movement of the eighteenth century in Arabia—an attempt to return to the primitive simplicity of the Koran—was crushed by the Turks and Egyptians as a political force, and now maintains itself only in a couple of small and unimportant communities whose insignificance precludes anything like social or religious investigations.

The great fraternities of North Africa (the Senussi and others), reflecting the Berber stolid and gloomy fanaticism, appear to have for their object merely to secure a territory in which they may retain their customs and practice their religion in peace,

away from the approaches of Christian infidels. As for the Mahdist revolts that occur from time to time, they are feeble resuscitations of an idea, originally non-Moslem, that has lost its hold on all Islamic peoples except a small and ignorant African community, and may now be ignored as incapable of anything important. The case is different with the Persian reform commonly known as "Babism," but by its adherents now called the "religion of Behau'llah"—a highly interesting and significant attempt to found an absolute and universal religion, beginning with a nominal acceptance of the Koran, and now involving an abandonment of Mohammedanism, the creation of new sacred books, and the establishment of new social and ethical ideals. It has necessarily come into violent conflict with Persian orthodoxy—the authorities have undertaken to banish it from Persia, and the head of the movement (Behau'llah's son) is an exile at Acre, living under the protection and surveillance of the Turkish government. It remains to be seen how far the new movement will affect the Moslem world. Its fundamental dogma (namely, that its founder is an incarnation of God) is offensive to the Mohammedan conception of religion; but Persia, outwardly converted to Islam, has always cherished its Aryan anti-Semitic ideas, and may show itself hospitable to this ethically and religiously attractive faith.

The opposition of the Persian hierarchy is largely the expression of conservative complacency and of the unwillingness of a ruling class to surrender its prerogatives. In this clash of two creeds, both of which claim to be absolutely authoritative, the struggle is simply for religious supremacy—there is no formal condemnation, by the state religion, of freedom of thought or of any social movement, and there is no formal Babist polemic against Islam or any other creed. Yet Babism is, by its nature, absolute and exclusive—if its claim be well founded, no other religion is worth considering; like Islam and Christianity, it bases its assumptions solely on the person of its founder, and its appeal is to the moral and religious sense. Only time can show what its outcome will be.

The most instructive history of modern religious absolutism is found in Christianity, the nominal religion of the peoples among

whom there is the greatest activity in scientific and social questions. At present the Christian world is broken up into a number of sects or sections that differ among themselves, for the most part, not in fundamentals, but in minor points of doctrine, ritual and organization. All the larger bodies—all those that are generally styled "orthodox"—accept the Bible as the ultimate religious and ethical authority, declare that the eternal salvation of every human soul depends on its faith in Jesus of Nazareth as the divine Saviour, and hold that the Church is the guardian and expounder of these divinely given truths. Such a creed carries with it a tremendous responsibility, a conception of human duty grander and more awful than any other in the world. It involves the possession of absolute authority—the salvation of mankind is declared to be in the hands of the Church, she alone has the saving truth, no compromise is logically possible. This is absolutism of the most terrible sort, and it is asserted not alone by this or that ecclesiastical body, but by all the various divisions of the Christian world, and it may be added—though this fact is not important for the present discussion—that each of these divisions regards itself as the sole possessor of the perfect truth, though in most cases each recognizes in the others enough of truth to secure salvation.

A more important fact is the relaxation of the conditions of salvation in certain cases—it is held by many in all the churches that unavoidable ignorance of the divinely revealed way of salvation will be taken into account by the divine mercy, and that there may be in non-Christian faiths a saving element of truth. Such convictions, however, do not modify the obligation of the Church to insist on the truth committed to her keeping. This truth is conceived to be not only religious, but also ethical, and is understood, further, by the Church to include in its domain all matters of human belief that are supposed to bear on religion, and consequently to carry with it antagonism to all opinions and procedures that are held to be opposed to the highest interests of society. The functions of an absolute Church involve, in fact, knowledge and control of the whole of human life, and the administration of its office demands the utmost breadth and delicacy. It is proper to inquire how the Church is now fulfilling the high duty to which she believes herself to be called.

One question that has played a great rôle in the history of Christian states, namely, the relation between church and state, is rapidly losing its importance. From the religious absolutist point of view the Church, as the greatest of social forces, may claim the physical and moral support of the state, whose aid it may invoke for the enforcement of all its laws and the realization of all its aims. This was the accepted doctrine in Europe for a long time; it has sunk now into an attenuated and ineffective tradition. Almost the only tribute paid to the Church by the state is a financial one—it is still the custom for the government to grant a subvention to the clergy and to relieve ministers of religion from the performance of certain duties that devolve on other citizens; but in this case the ground of subvention and relief is not regard for the authority of the Church, but the recognition of public service—similar favors are shown to non-religious bodies. It is only in countries slightly affected by modern ideas that ecclesiastical penalties are enforced by the civil government. Civil persecution of non-orthodox sects exists to-day only in Russia, and hardly there when the members of such sects are peaceful.

The most definite survival of the old absolutism is found in the taxation of all citizens to support a form of religion to which many of them do not adhere, as in England, for example, where, however, the procedure is looked on rather as an unconstitutional and unjust relic of tradition than as a piece of ecclesiastical tyranny. In France the rule of subvention for a century past has been equitable, appropriations of money being made to religious bodies in proportion to their numbers. But France is on the point of abandoning the system of subventions, and her example will be followed doubtless by the other countries of Europe. There is, also, another side to the relation in question—the state may undertake to control the Church. In England the highest church officials are appointed by the government, and certain points of orthodoxy are decided by a non-ecclesiastical court. Thus Bishop Colenso, whose heterodoxy was pronounced, was maintained in his official position in spite of the protests of the Church, and thus the government, by the appointment of a bishop or an archbishop, may color the policy of

the Church. Such a turning of the tables cannot but be unwelcome to the mass of persons ecclesiastical. There was widespread sympathy in non-Romanist circles with Leo XIII. when, in the so-called "Kulturkampf," he protested against the claim of the German government to control the choice of Roman Catholic bishops.

The Church is being put on the defensive, and is coming to see that a union with the state has its inconveniences. It is moving toward the abandonment of its claim to state support, and is more and more inclined to depend on the voluntary financial aid of its adherents. Such is the practice in this country, in which the only survival of the old tradition is found in the maintenance of certain chaplains by the government. Army and navy chaplains may be regarded as belonging in the same category with medical officers, as persons, namely, ministering to the well-being of soldiers and sailors; it is doubtful, however, whether government support of such chaplains is necessary or desirable, since the various religious bodies would gladly furnish the money for their maintenance. The case is somewhat different with chaplains of Congress. Their present mode of appointment involves government recognition of a particular religion (Christianity) that is the nominal faith of the great majority, but not of the whole of the people. This attitude of the government, though illogical, is harmless at present, since it does not seriously offend the moral sense of the country; but circumstances may arise that would make it obviously unjust. The question has been raised whether it is right for our government or for any government to recognize religion, as religion, at all, but this question need not be discussed here.

Quite apart from the official action of governments the various religious bodies continue to exert influence on the minds of the people through ministers of religion. In the main this influence is a healthy, helpful one. Romanist and Russian priests, Protestant rectors and pastors are, as a body, sincere and efficient friends and guides of the people, comforting them in sorrow, advising and aiding them in times of misfortune, and inculcating pure ethical principles. In such functions no theory of absolutism is involved. There are, of course, exceptions. The power exercised by the clergy may be tremendous and may be wrongly used. Where an

official person is clothed with the authority of a church, and is believed to have in his hands the keys of heaven and hell, he becomes an autocrat, and exacts implicit obedience, especially from an ignorant peasantry. The man's power may then be employed for selfish or wicked private ends, or for the furtherance of unwise ecclesiastical or other policies. Such cases must be distinguished from those in which the aim is merely to inculcate the tenets of a church or to carry out its general plans. Where the appeal is purely to the moral sense, the Church is acting in a legitimate way as moral teacher; where the argument used is based solely on the authority of the Church as a divinely founded institution we have absolutism with all its possible evils. There is reason to believe that the Church is resorting less and less to this latter appeal, trusting more and more to moral and scientific considerations.

The basis of the claim to authority made by all Christian churches is the Bible. Though the Bible is held by all orthodox bodies to be infallible, it cannot be an absolute standard of belief and conduct unless it be interpreted by an infallible body. By logical necessity orthodox churches must assume, explicitly or implicitly, that they have the precise truth of sacred Scripture. To maintain such assumption reliance is placed on tradition, or on philology, or on both these guides. A practical difficulty arises from the fact that the various churches differ in the conclusions they draw from Scripture respecting doctrine, ritual, organization and life. Every church, it is true, may claim that it is right and the others wrong; but practically the absolutist claims of all are weakened by these differences of construction of the normative writings.

Every organization has the right to adopt a body of principles and to require its members to accept its beliefs and laws. A church, holding the reason for its existence to reside in certain dogmas, may reasonably exclude from its communion those who reject these dogmas, and such persons must naturally go elsewhere. In many cases this is the course pursued by dissidents—hence the number of sects, especially in Protestant communities, where the demand for individual autonomy often overrides the desire for unity. In other cases dissidents prefer to remain in a church and assert the

right of individual interpretation of creeds and articles of faith. This sort of escape from absolutism is found most frequently in the larger organizations, which represent a great mass of general culture. In England and Germany divergence from the traditional standards is often expressed quite simply by men high in position who quietly assume the right to modify the church doctrines, and, as a rule, are not called to account for their utterances by the ecclesiastical authorities. In the Church of Rome there is less public protest, but a good deal of private interpretation. Even so thoroughly absolutist a dogma as Papal infallibility is by many members of the Roman communion explained in such a way as not to interfere with a large degree of individual freedom. Yet, with all this real laxity in the enforcement of the absolutist theory, our churches have not ceased to maintain their claim to authority, not only in questions of religious doctrine, but also in many points that are held to bear directly or indirectly on the traditional faith of Christianity.

The doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the Bible has long been regarded as a fundamental Christian tenet—it is affirmed in all orthodox creeds and insisted on in all orthodox theological treatises. The older form of the doctrine was strictly literalistic: an old Jewish view held that every Hebrew letter, consonant or vowel, was fixed supernaturally, and something equivalent to this now obtains in certain Christian circles—sometimes, for example, a mystical significance is attached to a Greek preposition or a Hebrew verb. More commonly it is held that the Biblical writers were divinely guided in such a way that their statements are free from error—this may be regarded as the accepted church doctrine. But the progress of investigation during the last three centuries, and particularly during the last century, has raised doubts as to this doctrine in the minds of many who revere and cherish the Bible as a noble and inspiring ethical and religious manual. Scholars now affirm that the Hebrew text of the Old Testament abounds in errors, and that uncertainty attaches to various words in the Greek text of the New Testament; it is maintained that many of the Biblical books are not the work of the men whose names they bear: Moses, it is held, was not the author of the Hebrew legislation,

nor David of any of our psalms, nor Solomon of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs, nor Isaiah of all the prophecies of our book of Isaiah, nor Paul of the Catholic Epistles. Throughout the Bible historical and scientific errors have been discovered, and certain of its ethical and religious ideas are adjudged to be the product of a crude and ignorant age.

In considering the attitude of the Church toward these results of scientific investigation one is struck by the variations of ecclesiastical judgment from time to time. A doctrine or a book condemned in one generation is accepted in the next. This has been the fortune of the Copernican system of astronomy and Newton's "Principia," of the theory of evolution and Darwin's "Origin of Species," and of other such theories. The rule of Church procedure has been to yield after a time to the demands of science. This involves a virtual abdication of infallibility, since it involves a change in the interpretation of the Bible. Such abdication, however, is not admitted by ecclesiastical authorities. The churches, while abandoning one old position after another, continue to take their stand on some new point that is assailed on purely scientific grounds, and to claim absolute authority on such point. To-day in the relation between science and the Church the chief point of interest is furnished by Biblical criticism. The questions raised by astronomy and geology have become familiar and excite comparatively little attention.

The critical study of the Bible, pursued with ardor in all parts of the Christian world, appears to touch fundamental theological opinions more nearly and demands the serious consideration of the authorities. In the Roman church steps are being taken toward a larger liberty of investigation than has heretofore been granted the members of that communion: a commission has been appointed to determine how far Biblical research may be carried, and though the decision, when it appears, will doubtless be conservative, yet the appointment of the commission is a sign that the church feels the necessity of reconsidering her former position; in point of fact many of her scholars and students have already adopted the methods and the results of the current criticism of the Bible.

In England and Germany there has been no official pronouncement on the critical question—there have been passages-at-arms between critics and the conservative parties, but the English and German churches, as organized bodies, have held themselves aloof from the controversy and tacitly conceded the right of Biblical scholars to carry on investigations without regard to their bearing on church dogmas. This is the case with the great Presbyterian churches of Scotland, and to some extent with the non-Episcopal churches of England. The acquittal of Bishop Colenso (one of the charges against whom was the denial of the church doctrine of inspiration) practically settled the question of freedom in the English Establishment; if, however, the church should be disestablished, the question might come up again. The condemnation of Robertson Smith was followed by a reaction that secured wide liberty in the critical field for members of the Free Church of Scotland. In this country the ecclesiastical movement, though in the same general direction, is less marked. Several of the larger religious bodies, notably the Presbyterians, the Baptists and the Methodists, have reaffirmed the conservative position more or less distinctly, and have taken measures against dissidents. Yet it is probable that a large section of the clergy of these churches is in sympathy with the new idea. Public opinion in the churches is revising the old standards, and it is only a question of time when the change of view will find expression in official action. Broadly speaking, the Church throughout Christendom has given up its claim to define the doctrine of inspiration, and this recession obviously entails serious consequences, not to religion, but to church authority.

Other doctrinal constructions formerly sternly condemned are now condoned or ignored. After fierce struggles the Christian Church adopted the doctrine of the Trinity as a constituent part of its faith, and any departure from a strictly literal construction of the Nicene and Athanasian creeds on this point was regarded as infidelity. This is still the official position of all orthodox churches. But the doctrine of the divinity of Christ is now openly construed in Europe and America by preachers and writers in a sense which not long ago would have been stamped as rank heresy. Instead of substantial deity pious men, in full communion

with orthodox churches, speak of a divinity of character and aim, of moral oneness with the deity, or of a manifestation of God. This has long been the case in Germany—Hegel was a recognized member of the Prussian Established Church, and a large number of German Protestant theologians since his time have held Sabelian and Socinian views; and the same is true of Holland.

The last half-century has witnessed a noteworthy modification of opinion in the bosom of the English Establishment. In sermons and books the Persons of the Trinity are treated as merely aspects of the divine character, as modes in which the pious soul conceives of God—at one time, it is said, He is thought of as creator and ruler, at another time as sympathizing saviour, and again as inspirer. Not long since a gentleman high in position in the Church publicly expressed a view of a fundamental church doctrine that filled the public with amazement; the fact was reported to his bishop, and a correspondence ensued in which the bishop said he was sure his friend had not meant to affirm anything contrary to the truths of Christianity, and the dean replied that the bishop was quite right—and so the matter was allowed to drop. In this case and in other similar cases the English church has not felt called on to give an official definition of the doctrine in question—it contents itself with a vague acceptance of a formula that may be interpreted in a variety of ways. In some of the churches in this country also there is a similar indisposition to insist on the traditional construction of the trinitarian doctrine—of the philosophical conceptions that sometimes take the place of the old formula there is no official condemnation. If we omit the Greek and Roman churches and certain Protestant bodies, Christian ecclesiastical authorities appear to renounce the right to impose on individual thinkers any definite form of belief respecting the divine trinity.

It is unnecessary to go into details on minor doctrines (such, for example, as those relating to the future life) as to which certain churches do not press their authority. The facts stated above go to show that the conception of church absolutism, so far as regards doctrine, has undergone a perceptible modification. So large is the movement that it may be regarded as involving a tendency of thought that is likely to have further consequences. The

movement issues from public opinion in the churches, and this will probably advance rather than recede, since it is determined by elements of modern life that appear to be permanent.

The Church has ceased to exercise authority in the political field. Governmental action is now not influenced by considerations purely religious. A political party seeking the votes of a religious body may concede its religious or moral demands, but in such a case the church prevails not by ecclesiastical authority, but by its strength at the polls. Such politico-religious parties exist in definite form in France and Germany, and in vaguer form in England and America. In the United States a strong popular church has sometimes determined a national election or state appointment, acting, however, not as a church but as a party. Courtship of a "clerical" party or a "nonconformist" body is not infrequent in Europe. But political leaders are jealous of their rights. Attempts of the Vatican to suggest lines of policy are not favorably received by the leaders of the German clerical party, and in Italy the Pope has just urged the friends of the Roman church to go to the polls. In Russia, while the ecclesiastical head of the church may have personal influence, the action of the Government is determined wholly by political and commercial considerations. In this connection it is worth while to remember that the modern movements against the Jews are not supported or favored by the churches. The antagonism is commercial or social. In certain circles in Russia, France and Germany there is an insane fear that the Jews will get control of the resources of the country and use their power destructively. This fear, quite unfounded, is a tribute to the practical capacity of the Jewish people. The churches, however, stand aloof; they send missionaries to the Jews but do not try to extirpate them.

The relation of the Church to education and to social movements is now become almost entirely moral and advisory. Every religious body may establish schools in which its peculiar religious and philosophical views shall be enforced; such a policy may be judged to be narrow and one-sided, but no one questions the right of the religious community to adopt it. But any attempt of a church to secure governmental aid for its peculiar teaching is now

generally condemned by public opinion, and churches are gradually ceasing to demand it. In this country the question has been met and decided against such a policy. The present agitation in England seems likely to result in the same way. France has declared definitely for the secularization of public or common schools. In Germany "religion" is still a part of the curriculum of the gymnasium, but the religious teaching is of so general and slight a nature as not to call forth marked opposition from Christians, and the population of Germany (except the Jews) is Christian.

The tendency now is toward a complete banishment of religious instruction from schools supported by the government, not out of unfriendliness to religion, but from the conviction that it is practically impossible in such instruction to avoid partiality, and that there is abundant provision in all communities, outside of Government schools, for the inculcation of religious ideas. Protests against this view continue to be made by churches, but with diminishing force; and the arguments employed by protestors are of a general cultural sort—they insist on the inefficiency of ethical teaching without a religious element. Whatever be the correctness of this allegation, it appears that Christian churches, as organized bodies, are gradually withdrawing their claims to dictate methods of education. In many sectarian colleges the instruction in philology, history, philosophy and physical and biological science is conducted on scientific principles without regard to official church dogmas; the study of Thomas Aquinas, now carried on in the colleges of the Roman church in accordance with the recommendation of Leo XIII, does not prevent a wide study of Greek and modern philosophy.

Social questions come properly within the sphere of activity of the Church considered as an organized body devoted to the good of humanity; in this regard it differs from other philanthropic organizations only in that its ethical ground is the will of God and its aim the religious as well as the physical and moral betterment of men. As a philanthropic association it may oppose such social theories and customs as it thinks injurious to society; as the custo-

dian of divine law it may condemn such theories and customs as impious. In the former case it merely exercises its natural human right of censorship of morals; in the latter case it affirms its absolute authority as expounder and enforcer of divinely revealed truth. It is now, however, disposed to appeal to moral considerations rather than to ecclesiastical or Scriptural law. The canon law of divorce still holds in some bodies; in other cases the right of divorced persons to marry again is denied. In England the question of the "deceased wife's sister" (the rule against a man's marrying the sister was based originally on a misunderstanding of a Bible passage) continues to exercise the House of Lords. Scriptural authority is invoked against the lax laws of divorce prevailing in many countries, or against a relaxation of the canon law.

Though the Scriptural argument is weakened by the differences of opinion among the interpreters of the New Testament, the assertion of Church authority is in many quarters positive. Here again a distinction must be made between the right of a Church, as merely an association of persons, to prescribe a rule of conduct for its members, and its right to announce an absolute law. In point of fact, even when there is assertion of divinely given authority, the arguments used are largely moral. Church leaders have observed that only such arguments are effective—they see that when the Church attempts to enforce a law that is not supported by the moral sense of the community the result is either that the law is evaded or that the Church is abandoned. Of course, if a law is believed to be of divine origin, it must be enforced or maintained however little society may approve it: absolute right cannot yield to human weakness or whim. But the conception of divine law is powerfully affected by human usage, and the Church sometimes revises its opinion of a rule which experience seems to show is not conducive to the best interests of society.

Certain secret societies and certain associations calling themselves "Socialists," found mostly on the continent of Europe, have long been connected with political revolutionary movements. Rightly or wrongly these organizations have been widely regarded

as atheistic and immoral, and on this ground have been condemned by religious and moral authorities. Such, for example, seems to be the point of view in Leo XIII's encyclicals directed against "socialism" and secret societies. Protests of this sort are legitimate from any source, provided there be just discrimination as to the motives and conduct of the persons involved, so that serious and high-minded reformers be not included in the same condemnation with reckless and self-seeking adventurers. Strictly speaking, there has been no ecclesiastical pronouncement respecting scientific theories of life that go under the names of socialism and anarchism. Herein the Church has shown a wise reticence, confining itself to ethical and religious judgments. Its attitude has been the same toward questions concerning capital and labor—it has perceived that its function is to denounce moral wrong, to hold up the ideal conception of society, but not to determine the laws of economic science.

It appears from this survey that Christian churches of to-day, though they may maintain absolutist theories, do in practice greatly abate the claim to infallibility, and more and more rest their teaching, in the spheres of science and morals, on ethical principles. Even the soteriological creed has undergone modification—in many quarters the eternal salvation of the soul is no longer held to be conditioned on the acceptance of Church dogmas. This change of view, however it may be accounted for, is not accompanied by any diminution of interest in religion within the Church. It may fairly be said that, during the whole history of Christianity, there has never been greater external Church activity than at present. This activity includes not only specifically religious enterprises at home and abroad, but also charitable work, which religious organizations are conducting, in a religious spirit, on a large scale. Nor does there seem to be any real falling off in religious fervor in the bosom of the Church. There is no such revolutionary enthusiasm as existed in the first century in the Roman Empire, in the sixteenth century in Europe, and in the eighteenth century in England; these were heroic periods of protest and reconstruction. But in the inner circles of the Church there

is a calm spirit of devotion that will not suffer by comparison with that of any preceding period. The Church to-day has her thinkers, saints, prophets and heroes. The flame of patriotism may burn no less brightly in times of quiet and prosperity than in moments of national anguish and struggle, and religious intensity and fidelity is not confined to days of persecution or upheaval. There is call for lofty faith and devotion now as always, and the Church, though, like all human organizations, she may sometimes slumber or falter, yet in her larger action maintains her prestige and is faithful to her high calling.

But the case with the world, as distinguished from the Church, is thought by many to be different. It is commonly said that the educated masses in Christian countries have withdrawn from religion; and this defection is sometimes attributed to denial of the Church's claim of absolute authority. As to the first of these propositions—that there is a divorce between religion and general culture—it is true to a certain extent, though it is also true that much of what is called irreligiousness is rather dissatisfaction with current forms of religion than indifference to religion itself. Omitting this dissatisfied group, and passing by that half-brutish stratum of society that is incapable of looking beyond the sensations or passions of the moment, there still remains a considerable body of educated persons who distinctly reject religion as an effective and desirable element of life. Such persons base their conclusion sometimes on speculative grounds or on the data of physical science, finding in the universe no trace of a personal God with whom man may enter into ethical relation, sometimes on the ground of the phenomena of life, which are judged to be inexplicable on the supposition of a moral government of the world.

The mere statement of these facts is sufficient to show that this non-theistic, non-religious attitude is not induced by rejection of the doctrine of Church absolutism. It is older than the Church—it goes back to the beginning of serious reflection on the facts of the world and of life. Whether rightly or wrongly, for good or for evil, it is a general outgrowth of human thought, and has lasted through many changes of religious systems in ancient and in modern times. In rejecting religion it of necessity rejects the

Church's claim to authority in questions of religious faith, but it is not hostile to the Church's moral influences. Rather, because it commonly lays the greatest stress on the ethical life, it welcomes the Church as an ally so far as the latter represents or favors social progress.

While the absolutist theory is slowly passing away, the moral force of the Church is increasing. To inquire into the causes of this fact would take us too far from our present purpose, but the fact itself, if it be admitted, should be a welcome one to all students of life. There are some who believe, or think they believe, that morality without religion is an evil—a devilish parody of good; the better the man in that case, they say, the worse he is—Satan masquerading as an angel of light. But they ought rather to be glad that Satan is forced to further good living, as we take it to be a good sign when a corrupt politician feels himself obliged to favor good government. One can understand that those who believe the Church's absolute authority to be of divine ordination should look sorrowfully on the world's rejection of it, but it may be at least an alleviation of sorrow to note that the Church's power to make human life better is not declining, but, so far as we can judge, is steadily increasing.

THE PROGRESS OF PHYSIOLOGY WITHIN THE LAST TWO DECADES

PROFESSOR ZUNTZ

IT is difficult to estimate the progress of an epoch in which we ourselves live and work. Events which seem to be exceedingly important dwindle into little trifles when viewed from the loftier height of later times, and much that appears to us insignificant often becomes a source of fruitful and enlightening investigation. With this fact in mind, one will recognize my aim to attain in all matters an objective representation, even if the endeavor be not always successful. I shall seek therefore to determine whether the researches and results which move our time are but stucco and trimmings in the edifice of physiology, or whether they are as building-stones in the growing structure of science.

The progress of physiology, considered from the time of the brilliant rise of the natural sciences at the end of the middle ages, is concerned, in the first place, with the development of anatomy, with its refinement by means of the microscope, and its extension by comparative research to the entire animal world. Vivisection, which is, in the opinion of many, physiology's own particular method, is nothing else than a special form of anatomy, concerned with the problem of life. Anatomy was for centuries so pre-eminently the mainstay of physiology, that as late as the middle of the nineteenth century both sciences were, at many of the universities, taught by the same man. The professor, according to talent and personal inclination, cultivated either anatomy or physiology as his special field of investigation.

A more accurate recognition of the physical and chemical forces in the body and their significance for life gave physiology its independence. Very gradually it was perceived that these forces were not to be regarded as incidental phenomena of life, life itself being conditioned upon a specific "vital force." It was seen that they must, themselves, help to an explanation and understanding of life because they had their whole validity in the living organism. As the working of the forces of inanimate nature in the living organism was better understood—there was less to explain by way of special biodynamics.

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During the last decades of the eighteenth century the progress of chemistry and physics furthered the development of the science of physiology. It is enough to mention the names of John Mayow, Priestley, Lavoisier; and to call to memory the revolution which was made in our conceptions by the knowledge that respiration is a process of combustion which produces force and warmth in the animal body, just as it does in inanimate nature.

Our conception of the processes in the nervous system was no less affected by the discovery that nerves and muscles are excited by galvanic currents, and that the process of life itself produces such currents. Since that time every advance in chemistry and physics is almost immediately followed by a deepening of insight into the physiology of the living organism.

The discovery of oxidation was followed by the more accurate insight into the chemical structure of the body, gained within the following decades. The need of nourishment, the kind of nourishment, the changes which food undergoes in the digestive apparatus, were investigated by chemists and professional physiologists of that time.

Further light was shed upon the problems of digestion through the physical studies of osmosis, the passage of substances through fine-pored membranes, and by the chemical studies of ferments.

The improvement of electrical apparatus made it possible to investigate the nerve-functions with wonderful minuteness. The discoveries resulting from these researches seemed so momentous that about the middle of the nineteenth century physiologists proudly threw the "vital force" overboard, and believed that they could explain everything by the action of the physical and chemical forces in the organism. Later discoveries did not bear out this proud confidence; yet it had the good effect of inspiring industrious, methodical work.

The older school of physiological research, which made careful dissection of the living body and compared its forms, showed remarkable progress about this time. It brought out the fundamental fact that the one simple form serves as building-material for all living organisms. Schwann proved that the animal and

plant-cell were equivalent, and with this enlarged view a much clearer insight into the close relation of all organisms with each other was made possible. Schwann's works prepared the foundation for the theory of heredity and its further development by Darwin. After Darwin's first publication in the year 1859 the questions of evolution and relations of animals to each other, the search for the laws of changes of form and performance, were foremost in the minds of physiologists. From this time there developed the period which we are to consider more closely.

During the last decades of the past century, in which we are specially interested, constant progress has been made in the morphological side of physiology, especially the investigation of the relations between the structure and the function of the organs. This investigation was helped by the fact that histology was striving, in a certain measure at least, to expand itself into a chemistry of the smallest formations. By means of extensive application of color-substances, which are produced by organic chemistry in such great numbers and with various properties (of reaction, solubility in the individual parts of tissue), progress has been made in the knowledge of cell-composition and its changes through function. It has even been possible to demonstrate anatomically various functional conditions in the ganglion-cells of the brain and the spinal cord. On the other hand—by making visible the changes which take place in the nerve-fibres upon separation from their functional centres—histological technique has succeeded in tracing the much tangled course of the fibres between the brain and spinal cord and the individual parts of these centres. The co-operation of anatomy with vivisection and clinical observation has made possible a frequently detailed knowledge of the various portions of the brain, this most complex of all organs. Here again a method, perfected in modern times, the hardening and subsequent dissection of the organs into unbroken series of thin slices (admitting of the minutest microscopical examination) has been of great service to physiology. Moreover, the development of organisms was followed in detail by means of these new methods. Inasmuch as an extended comparative investigation of all forms of organisms was carried on in con-

junction with these studies, the way was opened for a well-grounded general view of the general laws of life and development.

These same methods founded a more minute physiology of the cell, made it possible to characterize with surprising precision the process of its division and multiplication, the sexual coupling and the subsequent development. The mechanical explanation of the most striking vital functions of the cell, the amœboid motion of its protoplasm, has also been successfully undertaken. The laws of the surface-tension of liquids have here, as with the related case of muscular action, prepared the way for the physical understanding of the physiological process. The phenomena of pyro-electricity, moreover, and the shortening of elastic strings through warming, have been enlisted for the explanation of muscle-contraction, the old enigma of physiology. Pflüger attempted to derive contractions directly from chemical affinity, by referring them to the attraction of oxygen for systematic groups of oxidizable atoms, which he conceived to be attached to giant molecules, in the nature of side-chains.

The investigation into the reactions, common to all living organisms, upon the action of physical forces, has shown, in our epoch, new analogies between animals and plants, new general qualities of living matter. I point, in the first place, to the works of Pflüger on the effect which gravity has upon the division and development of the egg; the works of Jacques Loeb concerning regeneration and how it is influenced by gravity, and, in connection therewith, the entire series of reactions of animals and plants to gravity, contact, moisture, light, heat, and various chemical agents,—the so-called tropismus. The law (admired from the beginning, explained by Darwin and formulated more precisely by Pflüger), of the expediency of reactions of living organisms to the most various influences, was illustrated anew by the more accurate study of the mechanical and other outward forces, which are decisive in the formation of the skeleton, and all tissues and organs. Our views concerning heredity and the conditions which determine the forms of organisms in development, have been essentially changed by the discovery that the entire germ-cell is not necessary for the development of a new being; that it can be separated into

almost any number of parts and not lose the ability of producing a complete organism in conformity with the species. This inclines one to attribute great probability to the cause which Miescher assigns for specificity and heredity. Miescher calls attention to the almost infinite possibility of various albuminoids, differing from each other in the stratification of their asymmetric carbon-atoms; thus he seeks in the chemical constitution of the albumen the essential cause of formation and heredity. Later we shall see more in support of this view.

About the year 1880 it was recognized that the lowest forms of organisms were of the greatest importance as morbidic agents to the entire economy of nature. Pasteur, in France, had for some time investigated them, and, in recent years, Koch, in Germany, has met with special success in similar researches. The study of the metabolism and chemical products of the bacteria have advanced our knowledge of the chemical processes in the bodies of the higher organisms in many directions. Ever since Priestley opened new paths by his discovery of the assimilatory action of green plants, induced by the sunlight, organisms have been separated into two great classes: the anabolic or upbuilding, which is able to produce complicated chemical compounds from simpler groups; and the katabolic or down-tearing, which, while generating heat and other energy, reduces the complex compounds produced in the green plant back to the simple stable groups (carbonic acid, water and nitrogenous compounds related to ammonia). The latter process appears to be the more general and more characteristic of life, inasmuch as it does not only accrue to animals and those plants which lack chlorophyll, but also is constantly taking place in the green plant, along with the constructive processes, and is seen at once, when light is excluded.

The investigation of the mode of life of bacteria has shown that even without the co-operation of light very extensive synthetic processes take place in them and that they derive the energy which is consumed in these synthetic processes from other simultaneous processes of disintegration. Thus, for many bacteria, the presence of simple organic acids and an ammoniacal salt is sufficient for all functions of life and for building up a quantity of albumin-

oids and other complex organic combinations. In the meantime it has been seen, upon the basis of these discoveries, that in the organism of the higher animals these synthetical processes play a prominent part; that here, too, simple carbohydrates are compounded into complex; that sugar with six carbon-atoms is converted into fatty acid with sixteen and eighteen carbon-atoms, and that these fatty acids combine with glycerine into neutral fats. The animal organism produces its albumen, too (in part at least), from the products of cleavage, as will be seen more clearly by and by. Thus the chlorophyll-function is only one of the very important instances of the power of all living-cells to construct complex chemical combinations of high potential energy from simple combinations, procuring from other sources the necessary kinetic energy, either by chemical processes that disengage this energy, or in the presence of coloring-matter, sensitive to light, by means of chemically effective rays. Another way, differing from the one generally known, of generating vital energy and making life possible under unusual conditions, was first studied, more closely, in bacteria; later, however, it was recognized as belonging in varying degree, to all living organisms. This kind of generation is known as anaërobiosis, life without oxygen. The most familiar instance, the fermenting of yeast, shows that the disintegration of oxygenous combinations into simpler ones is the source of vital energy. Some forms of the fission-fungi are so adapted to this particular form of life that they cannot live in the presence of *free* oxygen. On the other hand, it has been proven that all higher organisms can perform, although imperfectly, vital functions *without* oxygen. The muscular apparatus of animals, which performs the greatest mechanical work and consumes most energy, is capable of functioning a long time without free oxygen. Whether this process may be compared to the anaërobiosis of bacteria, whether in its case it is a question of special arrangements for the storage of the inhaled oxygen, is at present an object of lively study.

With regard to these questions concerning the fundamental conditions of life, I would refer to Pflüger's demonstrations, in particular, in the tenth volume of his "Archiv," and also to the

latest investigations of Verworn and his school. The signal improvement of surgery in consequence of bacteriological research, asepsis in operations and the possibility of operating in a large number of cases, which formerly were almost certainly fatal, has also accrued to the advantage of modern physiology. I may now only refer to the advance in the study of digestion, which the operations of Pawlow have made possible; to the transfusion of the portal blood into the lower vena cava by Eck; to the improved brain and cord operations, and many more.

Within the time just preceding our period the chemistry of organic bodies had made such progress that it could produce, synthetically, a part of the organic substances, especially fats. Of the building up of the most complicated and characteristic of chemical ingredients in organisms, *i.e.*, albumen, it had gained some first glimpses by obtaining from albuminoids cleavage products, of comparatively simple structure, and well-understood grouping of atoms. These first grouping attempts concerning the constitution of albumen led to the knowledge that the albuminoids contained a great variety of substances, which resemble each other only in their elementary composition and in certain general characteristics. The classical investigations of Emil Fischer succeeded in explaining the structure of one hitherto very puzzling group of the cleavage products of albuminoids, the so-called "Purin" bodies, to which belong uric acid, xanthine, and guanine, and the well-known alkaloids of tea, coffee, and chocolate.

Emil Fischer further rendered the great service of explaining the constitution of carbohydrates, that group of substances so important in nutrition, to which belong sugar, starch, and the cellulose which envelops the plant-cells. After chemical research had shown, in the first place, that apart from carbohydrates of six carbon-atoms, there were others with more and less, it became possible to prove the existence of these newly discovered bodies in the animal and the plant world, and their importance for the structure of the nuclei and the membranes of many kinds of cells. In a few years chemical research has made rapid progress in the knowledge of the structure of albuminoids, so

that we now have good reason to expect that it will be possible soon to imitate nature's way of building albuminoids from the elements, just as even now, by way of chemical synthesis, we can obtain fats and carbohydrates.

Our insight into the immense variety of organic combinations that build up the body is based particularly upon the knowledge of a special kind of chemical differentiation which was not to be explained by the views of so-called structural chemistry, the only kind in use up to that time. It is a question, here, of those fine differences in the action of otherwise very closely related bodies, which modern chemistry explains by means of the so-called isomery in space. Pasteur and Van't Hoff have recognized the connection of the spatial arrangement of the atoms with the effect upon polarized light of a large number of organic bodies. Van't Hoff has advanced the fruitful hypothesis that stereoisomery is everywhere possible and present, where there is an asymmetric atom of carbon; *i.e.*, a carbon atom of whose four affinities each individual one is occupied in a different manner, *i.e.*, by a different atom or a different grouping of atoms. The heuristical significance of this hypothesis is seen clearly from Fischer's investigations in carbohydrates. Sugars with 5 atoms of carbon, the so-called pentanes, contain 3 asymmetric carbon-atoms, and therefore have about $2^3 = 8$ isomerics; the carbohydrates with 6 carbon atoms, correspondingly, $2^4 = 16$. In fact, it was possible to find 8 different sugars with 5 carbon-atoms, 16 with 6 carbon-atoms partly in nature, partly by chemical synthesis. The infinite variety of albuminoids, which, in part, follows from their coarser structure, grows into boundlessness, when we consider that many albuminoids probably contain as many as 100 and more asymmetric carbon-atoms, and that therefore the number of possible modifications exceeds by far the immense number of wheat-grains, which the well-known chessboard problem yields.

Thus even thirty years ago Miescher was able to advance the above-mentioned hypothesis, that perhaps all phenomena of heredity, with the infinite variety of variations, could be derived from the differences in the constitution of albuminoids contained in the germs, and could accordingly be explained upon

chemical grounds. Especially remarkable is the fact, seen in the investigations quoted above, that differences in the spatial arrangement of atoms are frequently of greater importance for the course of vital processes than coarser differences in chemical structure. Of two related bodies differing only in the spatial position of a group of atoms, usually one turns the plane of polarization to the right, the other to the left. Of these two modifications only one is usually capable of insertion into the living tissue of certain organisms and thereby fit to nourish these organisms and to be broken up in their vital process. Of the sugars that are most closely related and differ only by their action under polarized light, one is often received by certain fission-fungi and used as a source of power, while the other is seen to be perfectly indifferent and unfit for nutrition. The same applies to the bodies of higher organisms.

That living organisms act so vigorously on certain chemical substances is due, as recent investigations have shown, to the presence of soluble substances, the so-called enzymes, within the organisms. It has been known for a long time that there are enzymes, or, as they were formerly called, soluble ferments, which condition a number of chemical changes in the organism and are produced for this purpose by the cells of the living organism. The enzymes of the alimentary canal, which bring about the change of nourishment into soluble and assimilable substances, were first known. Important investigations of recent years have shown that such enzymes play a prominent part in probably all living cells, and that there is hardly a chemical change in the living body in which they do not take part. The spatial arrangement of the atoms is of greatest importance to these enzymotic changes, inasmuch as the enzymes themselves owe to the spatial arrangement of their atoms their ability to accumulate upon correspondingly arranged molecules and to affect changes in them in a characteristic way. Our understanding of the functions of enzymes in the body has been advanced in most recent times by analogous effects, which proceed from comparatively simple bodies, as from certain metals, platinum and palladium.

In close relation with the action of enzymes, and to be ex-

plained by the almost infinite variety of albuminoids, there is a number of reactions of the complex substances in the living body, which are characteristic of and highly important for the individuality of the organisms. Bacteriology has shown the way to the understanding of these remarkable phenomena, scarcely divined hitherto. Ehrlich, Behring, and many co-workers, in their endeavor to discover a cure for infectious diseases, found that albuminous substances, which poison an organism, frequently cause reactions in the same body, which lead to the formation of counter-poisons or "antitoxins," that neutralize and render the poison harmless. One can obtain substances of albuminous character from almost all kinds of the fission-fungi, which have been more closely investigated, but also from the cells and tissues of the various higher organisms, which are poisonous for most other animals. One need but remember that blood of its own species can be injected into an animal in almost any quantity, while blood of other species acts as a poison. And the more widely two species differ from each other in organization, the more poisonous is their blood to each other. While a mammal can receive many c.cm. of blood from other mammals without danger to life, a few drops of the blood of some fishes suffice to kill a mammal, when injected into its blood-vessels. Now, with all these albuminous poisons of animal and vegetable origin, it is shown that their introduction in quantities not sufficient to kill induces the formation of counter-poisons. The well-known fact that the blood of a horse, which has been inoculated repeatedly with diphtheria-poison, in increasing quantities, renders this same poison innocuous to animals, neutralizes it, is only one instance of the general truth, that organisms react upon the introduction of almost any albuminous poison in such a manner that they will stand without injury larger and larger doses at repeated injections; they grow accustomed to it because increasing quantities of anti-poison—*i.e.*, anti-poison against the particular poison in question—accumulates in the blood of the repeatedly inoculated animal.

Much experimental work has been done as regards the universality of the law that all animals produce counter-poisons against the most various harmful substances coming from other animals

and let them circulate in their humors. If one injects into a rabbit the blood of another mammal, it becomes more and more able to destroy the blood-corpuscles of this and only this species. Herein is the best way of identifying the blood of an animal species. In judicial cases it is often impossible, by way of microscopic examination, to identify blood-stains as human blood, because there are a number of animals whose blood-corpuscles look exactly like those of man. But if a rabbit has been treated by repeated injections of human blood in increasing quantities, the blood of the rabbit will become capable of precipitating the albumen of human blood, even in great dilution. By this reaction human blood can easily be distinguished from that of other mammals. It has been possible to show in this way the near relationship of man and the so-called anthropoid apes.

The serum of a rabbit which, from repeated injection of human blood, has acquired the power of precipitating the albumen of human blood, has the same effect, although not quite so strong, upon the anthropoid apes, but not upon that of lower species of monkeys and all other mammals. If we inject any dissolved animal or plant albumen into a rabbit, its serum produces a precipitate with just this and no other albumen. This precipitative reaction is as yet the best means of differentiating albumens which in their coarser structure are not different. It proves that the differences between the seemingly similar albuminoids of different animals which Miescher's above-mentioned hypothesis postulated really exist.

If there is thus a co-operation of finely graduated chemical substances, our knowledge of the action of enzymes, which participate in digestion, has been broadened in a similar manner within the last years. The well-known enzymes of the digestive glands that act upon albumen, fats and carbohydrates are not identical in different foods; on the contrary, it appears from the investigations of Pawlow and his school that a food-stimulant does not only determine the amount of secretions, but also their combination in such a way that they adjust themselves in large measure to the peculiarities of the food. Moreover, within the most recent years, new combinations of enzymes have been discovered.

The pancreas furnishes a secretion which does not act at all upon albumen and is able to digest albumen only in contact with a peculiar product of the intestines, which Pawlow calls "Enterokinase." Much like the "Enterokinase," the bile acts in a surprising manner on the enzymes in the intestines, reënforcing their action, although it does not contain enzymes in any palpable quantity.

The secretion of the glands, which has been known to be stimulated and checked by the nerves, is partly conditioned upon chemical substances circulating in the blood. The uppermost part of the small intestine secretes a substance, when the acid gastric juice enters it, which then enters into the blood and, passing to the pancreas, starts secretion there. Chemical substances produced in one organ and carried on in the blood often stimulate other organs to action. There are two organs in our body with no other function than to furnish such active substances by the so-called "inner secretion." These organs are the thyroid gland and the suprarenal capsules or adrenals. The thyroid gland supplies, according to Baumann's discovery, an iodiferous substance which has a heightening effect upon the metabolism in many organs. The absence of the thyroid gland causes in man and most mammals serious, often fatal, disease, which, in part at least, can be relieved by the introduction of the thyroid substance. With an abundant supply of this substance metabolism, which falls far below the norm in the absence of the thyroid glands, reaches its normal height and may exceed it. At the same time, under its influence the brain-functions injured to the extent of idiocy are revived. The impaired growth of hair, and the interrupted function of the skin, begin again. The sexual organs, too, supply chemical substances which have peculiar effect upon the blood. Not all that Brown-Séquard and his numerous followers have shown concerning the function of the secretion of the testicles is to be explained by suggestion and over-credulous imagination; moreover, Loewy and Richter have observed a considerable decrease in metabolism after the removal of the genital glands and an increase on feeding their substance to the castrated animals.

The function of the adrenals, also known for a few years only, is of an entirely different nature. They supply a product which makes the muscles of the arteries contract and so keeps the blood-pressure at normal height. When brought into the blood in small quantity this remarkable adrenal substance enormously increases the blood-pressure. Its local, surface effect upon parts covered with thin skin, as the conjunctiva of the eye, is to contract their blood-vessels. So, again, we see an action which hitherto has been ascribed exclusively to the nervous system, partly performed by chemical substances circulating in the blood.

Another very important secretion of this kind comes from the pancreas. It supplies a substance which is indispensable for the combustion of sugar in the body. Upon removal of the pancreas all the sugar that comes in with the food together with that which is generated in the body during metabolism, is eliminated unchanged in the urine. Grave diabetes is the result (von Mering and Minkowski).

Perhaps this knowledge of the importance of chemical substances and the enzymes has too greatly diverted attention from the regulation of animal metabolism by the nervous system. The impulse which comes from the nerves to the active organs, in first place to the muscles, is more powerful than any other. Under the influence of will-power metabolism in the working muscle is greatly increased, even up to 20 times what it is during rest. Even though the enzymes play a part in the preparation of the substances, by making them ready to divide under nervous impulse, yet the explosive suddenness of the division and the mechanical work in the activity of a muscle is very different from what we otherwise know of the function of enzymes. It seems that the gap between these active exciters of metabolism in the animal body and the action of the nerves may be bridged over in the way Pflüger, who resorts to chemistry for his explanation, suggests. He assumes that the individual molecules are by chemical affinity concatenated throughout the entire irritable and contractile substance of the organism; an idea which makes the action of molecule upon molecule intelligible. We know that the molecules in general are all more easily decomposed when they contain a larger number of concate-

nated atoms. Those gigantic molecules which serve to conduct the stimulus would accordingly not oxidize in their entirety. Inasmuch as the more stable parts of the giant molecules conduct the vibration, leading to disintegration, over upon the adnexed atomical complexes, without being themselves dissociated, their function becomes analogous to that of the ferments which we have seen to be active everywhere in the body.

As is well-known, we distinguish in the animal body two kinds of irritable substances: the nerves merely conduct stimuli, without undergoing any appreciable change of matter, while the muscles, in conducting the stimulus farther, carry out at the same time intensive dynamogenic processes of oxidation. Accordingly, the muscular substance is soon exhausted in action, while nerve-matter, according to recent research, is indefatigable, *i.e.*, does not lose the ability to receive and conduct (carry along) the stimulus under continued irritation. This difference between living matter which merely "conducts" and such as conducts and "works" at the same time, becomes intelligible, if we conceive of the former as merely a chain of labile but not decomposed molecules, while in the "working" substance of protoplasm, of muscles, these molecules are furnished with side-chains which receive from the enzymic main chain the impulse for oxidation.

The idea originating with Pflüger of the concatenation of organic molecules and the accumulation of decomposable groups upon the chain of labile molecules has proven very fruitful for the explanation of the toxic and anti-toxic functions of albuminoids. Ehrlich supposed that molecules, which are endowed with specific capacity of conjoining with a certain albuminoid, can be taken from the organic complex and carried over into circulation. These molecules form the anti-bodies which accumulate in the blood serum during immunization against vegetable and animal poisons of albuminous character.

This review shows how fruitful physical chemistry, which has made so great an advance within the last decades, has proven for physiology. The laws which make it possible to compute states of equilibrium, in slowly changing chemical combinations, have also clarified our ideas upon physiology. Even at the beginning

of the period with which we are concerned, the processes of respiration were made more intelligible by Donders through the application of the laws of dissociation. In most recent times it has been demonstrated that many functions of the enzymes are reversible, and follow the law of mass-function in their course.

The theory of osmotic pressure, originated by Moritz Traube and physically rounded out by Van't Hoff, has furthered greatly the understanding of vegetable physiology; and in animal physiology also many phenomena have been cleared up—in part seen for the first time—by application of the laws of osmosis and hydro-diffusion. With the help of these laws it has been possible to estimate the work of the kidneys in the secretion of the urine. The varying permeability of the membranes, the distribution of dissolved substances among various dissolvents, with which they come into contact, have gone far to explain the functions of the glands, of lymph-production and the more or less poisonous effect of various substances upon individual organs.

The physiologist is also greatly interested in the rapidly increasing knowledge of electrical processes within the domain of physics. The famous achievement of Helmholtz, the measurement of the rapidity of transmission of nerve-irritation, has undergone a very interesting amplification by Bernstein. As is known, he showed that with the same rapidity as the irritation, there is transmitted a change of electrical polarity through the nerve. Various new facts have recently been brought to light by the further study of these action currents and that modification of the nerve by the electrical current which is called electrotonus, and which was discovered by Dubois-Reymond.

Helmholtz, in his classical works, "Physiological Optics" and "Sensations of Sound," had made an exhaustive analysis of the higher organs of sense. The later discovery of sensitive substances in the retina of the eye, which Boll called "visual red," was especially important for physiological optics. The theory of the specific energy of the organs of sense was further developed by the demonstration that there were separate nerves for the sense of touch, of heat and cold. The discovery of Blix and Goldscheider that sensations of heat and cold are not two different con-

ditions of the same nerve-ends, but are each conveyed by separate nerves, marks a great advance. It has further been shown that in the sense of taste there is a similar differentiation of nerve-ends, relatively independent, and each displaying a specific energy. Zwardemaker demonstrates that in the central organ of the sense of smell there is not only a mixture of odors in consequence of irritation of different specific nerve-endings, but also complete neutralization of chemically opposite smell-sensations, when the nostrils are simultaneously affected, one by an acid and the other by an ammoniacal substance. The organ of sense, so peculiar in its function, which forms, anatomically, a part of the ear and which is represented by the semi-circular canals and the otolith organs, has been explained by Ewald, Breuer, and others. We know its function in perceiving the position and movements of the head; and that it induces reflexes which are essential for maintaining the position of the body and the tonus of the muscles.

The mechanism of the motion of the body, one of the first problems of physiology to be treated accurately, has been considerably advanced during this period, through the progress of physical resources. The instantaneous photograph and the quick and even succession of numerous photographic pictures used for kinematography has improved the analysis of motion, of walking, running, etc., and has made it more accessible to exact mathematical analysis. Marey, Braune and Fischer are specially to be named in this connection.

During the last twenty years the relation between the transformation of matter and energy has played a prominent part in physiological research. Although Lavoisier successfully proved the relation between the heat-production of animals and the consumption of oxygen, these relations became really fruitful only in the middle of the past century. Robert Mayer and Helmholtz announced the principle of the conservation of energy and regarded its applicability to the human organism as an axiom. Recent investigation has done a notable service in proving this axiom with certainty. It was demonstrated, in the case of animals at rest, that the heat given out was exactly equal to that of the combustion of the substances assimilated in the

body (Rubner). As a basis for this demonstration it was necessary to ascertain exactly the heat of combustion of the substances changed in the body and that of the products of metabolism resulting from them and thrown off through the urine and the excrements. Moreover, methods had to be found for determining *a posteriori* from the excretions of the body and its oxygen the nature and amount of the metabolized substances (Pettenkofer, Voit and others). After having resolved the simpler problem of determining the transformation of energy in the resting body, the more difficult task of measuring this transformation during work was undertaken. By modification of the above-indicated methods one is now able to find out precisely how much nourishment the animal organism must use if it is to perform a definite amount of mechanical labor.

American investigators, Atwater, Benedict, and their fellow-workers, have recently, in a very complete way, followed the transformation of matter and energy in man, under various conditions of nourishment, and occupation. The respiratory calorimeter which they constructed is the most perfect machine that has hitherto been devised for the study of the transformation of matter and energy in living animals. With these investigations concerning the amount of matter and force needed by man and beast in various work, together with the study of the most efficient foods, the physiology of nutrition enters into hygienic and sociological questions of greatest significance.

The fact that there were until recently better and more convenient methods for the investigation of the transformation of nitrogenous ingredients than for the study of non-nitrogenous food, which represents the main bulk of nutrients, led almost unconsciously to a more extensive study of nitrogenous food, of albuminoids, which were accordingly thought to be of more account than facts warranted. The investigations of the last decades have given a more just valuation of all nutrients. Physiology also occupied itself with the question, in what measure the body can actually utilize the energy of the foods for its purposes. It was seen that the heat of combustion is not always a measure of the nutritive value, that some nutrients undergo, indeed, combus-

tion and produce heat, but are incapable of producing muscular energy equivalent to the heat of combustion. On the other hand, it was found that the assimilation of food is a sort of work, which may reduce the nutritive value of food, in the same way as the heating value of a fuel is diminished by its content of water or mineral substances which impair its combustibility.

Lack of space has forced us, in view of the variety of fields upon which physiology is progressing, to indicate aphoristically only the most important achievements. Still, these indications should probably be sufficient to show in what manner future progress in physiology will be made; that it is, before all, the progress of organic and physical chemistry on the one hand and of molecular physics on the other which prepare the way for physiological research. When we emphasize this receptive rôle of physiology, it must not be forgotten that on its part physiology has frequently through its questions exercised a stimulating and fecundating effect upon chemical and physical research. Thus, to mention only a few, the highly important osmotic studies, the investigation of the heat of combustion of organic substances and their relations to the constitution of the same; and, finally, the fine studies concerning contact and the induction of chemical processes, have had their origin in physiological queries.

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF UNDERFED CHILDREN

ROBERT HUNTER

THE recent widespread discussion throughout the country concerning the number of hungry and underfed children who attend school in New York City unfitted to do well the work required of them will doubtless, in the course of time, bring up for serious inquiry a vital social problem. In most of the European countries the social significance of under-feeding has been the subject of inquiry and discussion for several decades; but in this country it has been seriously neglected, both by the philanthropist and by the student of the problems of poverty. Although abroad there is an extensive literature on the subject, and the agitation of the question has given an impulse to an entirely new method of charitable administration, our American literature upon charitable questions has nothing whatever dealing with it. Even Professor Charles R. Henderson, in his recent book on "The Modern Methods of Charity," which aims to be pretty much a compendium, mentions in only one place, I believe, the work done in foreign cities for the relief of this class of children. During the recent discussion of this problem not a single one of our experts in charitable work seemed to know what was being done abroad, either in the way of investigating this matter or in the way of meeting it by relief measures. It is difficult to account for this apparent lack of interest in such a fundamental question. It is the more difficult in view of the fact that for over forty years a related, though not more important, problem—the housing of the poor—has called forth endless discussion and repeated attempts at amelioration. Any one following the trend of philanthropic events in our metropolis during the last few decades would observe a curious emphasis laid upon this one aspect of the poverty problem.

In New York several commissions have been constituted for the purpose of determining the evils resulting from insanitary homes and of recommending remedial measures. Inebriety,

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undervitalization, moral perversion, poverty and pauperism have all been considered in their relation to vile tenements and improper homes. As a result, the effect of slum tenements upon the life and welfare of the poorer classes has been fairly well determined. The insanitary tenement, as a contributory cause in the development of many diseases, and especially of tuberculosis, is now recognized in all its dangers, and much of our remedial action is influenced by this knowledge. Not the least important result of this inquiry and discussion is that we have learned to appreciate the many obstacles against which the poor struggle. We have come to realize that the conditions of life in which the poor find themselves lay upon them heavy burdens in the way of sickness, physical weaknesses and high death rates—all of which, to a considerable extent, prevent them from mastering the difficulties of life which confront them. The effect of these conditions upon the children is often that of an extreme and final blighting of their little lives. This knowledge of conditions has been a clear, distinct and invaluable gain, although it approaches the problem of poverty from only one aspect.

The equally important question of under-nutrition and of mal-nutrition has been, at least in its social aspects, almost entirely neglected. Of course, the medical profession knows an immeasurable amount concerning the subject, but its information has not been popularized nor made to serve, as it well might, the forces working for remedial measures. Before tenement-house commissions were thought necessary certain members of the medical profession knew the evils of insanitary homes. Before our committees for the prevention of tuberculosis were thought of, physicians here and there had long been preaching the necessity for social action to eradicate this disease; and now, as we approach the subject of under-nutrition, we find that physicians have long since realized its fundamental importance. The medical profession has gathered together an immense amount of unpopularized data concerning the relation of mal-nutrition to some of our more serious social problems. There is no reason why some philanthropic or reform body should not avail itself of this data and, from a broader social point of view, undertake to study and report upon

this question with the same thoroughness with which some of them have previously considered the subject of tuberculosis and the problem of the proper housing of the poor.

The under-fed, the under-clothed, the badly housed, are the ones considered to be in poverty, and when these conditions of living prevent the working people from maintaining a state of physical efficiency by which alone they are enabled to maintain their economic independence in life, it is generally conceded that physical, mental and even moral deterioration will result. To omit from consideration under-feeding and to seize upon housing as the only condition of distress worthy of serious study is to adopt an extremely narrow point of view from which to make inquiries. Sooner or later we shall undertake to study as well the other conditions of living from which the poor suffer.

The food supply of the poorer classes is one of the most important and fundamental of the economic factors conditioning their life. Both upon its quantity and quality depend their progress and welfare. Concerning a few points having to do with the quality and the preparation of foods we are already partly informed. A certain class of investigators have inquired into the extensive methods of food adulteration. To speak of only one of the important results disclosed by these inquiries we find that bread, upon which the poor of past generations have mainly lived, and which is even now the article of diet most relied upon among the poor, is no longer "the staff of life." Adulteration has robbed the flour of certain nutritive qualities, so that bread is now occasionally called "the staff of death." Most careful scientific work has been done for the purpose of determining the nutritive value of certain foodstuffs.

A few inquiries have been made into the dietaries of certain classes of the population. Model and inexpensive menus, purporting to contain the essential quantity of nutritive matter, have been prepared for popular use. Attention has been given to the preparation of foods, and cooking has been introduced into the curriculum of our schools for the purpose of teaching the young people the value of certain food-stuffs and the best means of preparing them for the table. All of this, however, has mostly to do

with the quality and the preparation of food. The most important questions concerning the quantity of food which certain classes of the population are able to obtain and the regularity or irregularity with which they obtain it are as yet unanswered.

Of even greater importance than these last questions is the social significance of the under-feeding of children. Here again the physicians have a great mass of information regarding countless individual cases, and all of this data, now hidden away in obscure places, scattered throughout the medical libraries, undigested and inaccessible for practical uses, should be gathered together and made of social value. Until this is done we shall not fully comprehend the deleterious effect which under-nutrition and mal-nutrition have upon the condition of the great mass of the people. We are ignorant, inexcusably ignorant, of the evils wrought among the children of the poor by under-feeding. It is not only the bad food, or the bad ways of feeding, or even the ignorance of the nutritive value of food-stuffs, that is at fault; it is also the irregularity and uncertainty with which certain classes obtain proper nutriment, both for themselves and for their children.

With the poor of our day bad feeding often begins immediately after birth. When the mother is a working woman it is often difficult for her to nurse her baby for more than a few days. Many mothers cannot even do that, for there seems to be a growing inability among all classes of child-bearing women to nurse their young. Many well-to-do women have voluntarily given up breast-feeding. The poor mothers, on the other hand, often find artificial feeding necessary, as their employment necessitates in so many cases separation from their children. The replacing of the domestic system of labor by the factory system was probably one of the most important causes, as it brought with it the necessity that women should leave their homes to work all day in the factory. But, whatever the cause, the decrease in breast-feeding has been attended with the most serious results. It is perhaps the chief cause at present of an excessive infantile mortality; it is also responsible for much physical and mental deterioration among those children who survive. The reason for this is that only experts know how to feed infants on an artificial diet. It is

a most intricate and difficult matter, and well-to-do mothers would be quite as incapable of properly feeding their infants as are the poor mothers were it not that they have excellently trained nurses and expert physicians to call upon constantly. Nature, in providing the method of breast-feeding, took precaution against the universal lay ignorance of proper artificial food for babies. The decrease in breast-feeding, therefore, is of the utmost social importance, as it means so commonly among the poor that the children are seriously handicapped from the very start in their life's struggle.

Under-feeding, which begins thus early with poor children, lies at the base of a whole series of social problems, problems that concern fundamental social issues. Hungry and under-nourished children will arouse in all persons the deepest feelings of sympathy, but considerations of even greater social importance must take precedence over mere sentiment, however sincere and well-bestowed the sentiment may be. The real question involved is one to arouse constant concern. It is plainly this: Can we expect young men and women, who have been reared in poverty and who are irregularly, improperly and insufficiently fed (usually under-clothed and poorly housed as well) to be socially useful, economically independent, industrially efficient and morally sound? A great many persons seem to think that social virtues depend almost entirely upon the exercise of the will, and that any child can possess these pearls of character by a mere exertion of will-power. It is perhaps not necessary to discuss whether or not anything can be said to justify this belief; it is certainly more important for the purposes of this paper to emphasize the fact that the most serious students of the problem seem to be taking an opposite point of view. For instance, criminologists, alienists, teachers in the schools for defective and backward children and others have demonstrated that lack of nourishment during the early years of life is one of the most important causes of the mental and moral weaknesses which come under their supervision. In the effort to overcome the effects of early privation nearly all the best hospitals, special schools and reformatories now include in their treatment elaborate provision for the physical regeneration of the inmates. As an

example of this new treatment we may take that carried on at Elmira. Mr. Z. R. Brockway, when he was superintendent of that reformatory, found it among his first and most important duties to provide methods for physically regenerating those who were confined there. This was done as a basis for the intellectual, manual and moral training which followed.

There has rarely been a more revolutionary undertaking in the history of penology than that at Elmira, when in 1886 "an experimental class in physical culture was formed." This class consisted of twelve criminals "who for a period ranging from one to two years had made no appreciable progress in school work and *who seemed incapable of prolonged mental effort.*" Of the twelve men, one was convicted for assault in the first degree, five for burglary, four for grand larceny, one for rape and one for attempted rape. "In physiognomy," so ran the words of the physician in charge in the annual report of that year, "many of the men presented features indicative of criminal tendencies; and in two the receding forehead and retracted head, as viewed in profile, are almost typical of idiocy. In short, among the twelve there is not a face but expresses mental hebetude or moral obliquity." With this sort of material to work upon the prison authorities began to forward their plans for regeneration. A special and improved dietary was substituted for the prison fare; systematic and regular exercises were begun and a professional trainer gave the men massage and baths. The food was varied each day and was weighed, so that they received the exact quantity they required. Five months of this ideal regimen brought with it the most striking results. "An increased mental activity was noted"; their physical condition was markedly improved, so that "the aimless, shuffling gait gave way to a carriage inspired by elastic muscles and supple joints"; the "faces parted with the dull and stolid look," and assumed "a more intelligent expression"; with the "physical culture and improvement there came a mental awakening, a cerebral activity never before manifested in their prison life. The purely animal man, with his ox-like characteristics, seemed to recede before the intellectual." The relation between the physical and the mental, between nourishment and general well-being could hardly

be more powerfully illustrated than in the foregoing example; what had seemed an almost hopeless group of degenerates were even in their maturity brought, by a rigorous method, up to an almost normal standard of physical and mental condition.

This new regimen in reformatory work recognizes the primal importance of physical condition. It is very likely that the majority of delinquents, and of dependents, are physical wrecks. They are precisely of that physical type which you would expect to be produced by an evil environment and by a neglected early life. They show bodily and mentally the effects of under-nourishment, insanitary tenements and bad personal habits. The connection between early privations and subsequent criminality is very clearly seen in a classification which developed out of this new reformatory method. Those who are given especial attention in the physical training work above described are grouped as follows: (a) the anæmic and under-developed; (b) the semi-invalids; (c) the feeble-minded; (d) the more or less aberrated intellects; (e) the sexual perverts; (f) the moral imbeciles, . . . etc. It is interesting in the highest degree to see that the most important reformatory method used in the case of this entire group consisted largely in feeding, exercise, baths and massage, undertaken, of course, for the purpose of physical upbuilding and renovation. Punishment, as well as mental, moral and manual training, were almost valueless as reformatory methods with this class of criminals until good food and other measures of physical upbuilding laid a foundation upon which to work.

The attempts being made to correct the evil effects resulting from an injurious environment are not limited to reformatories; they are being made in many other avenues of philanthropic endeavor. The methods now being used for the care of those suffering from tuberculosis are of a like character, and much that is being done for feeble-minded and backward children is based on a similar principle. However, the important thing to be considered here is not what is being done by the state to repair or to correct evils, which, in large part at least, ought not to exist; it is rather to outline one of the important causes of these evils. Perhaps the most noteworthy thing in that which we have been

considering is the evidence as to the deteriorated physical condition of the inmates of most of our charitable institutions. Indeed, if we were to examine all of the inmates of our prisons, sanatoria and institutions for backward and dependent children, we should very likely find sufficient explanation for their delinquency, sickness or dependence in the serious physical weaknesses which are characteristic of the mass of them. We are perhaps justified in assuming from such evidence as these institutions furnish us that the physical condition of the mass of people from whom these derelicts are drawn is far below the normal. We shall later consider other evidence which leads us to believe that a large majority of the children of the poorest class are condemned by the material conditions of their life and environment to be physically, mentally and morally incapable of rising out of their impoverished condition. Whether or not it can be shown that under-feeding is the most important cause of the failure which attends the lives of the very poorest will depend upon the results of a more thorough investigation than has yet been made into this subject. It is not, however, unreasonable to suppose that so long as any class fails to obtain sufficient and proper food it must exist on a plane that is but little, if any, above that of the semi-civilized.

The importance of a regular and certain food supply is clearly seen in the development of races. Civilization is made possible by reason of the certainty that food will be obtained. Without this certainty civilization would disappear and we should all lapse into savagery. As is well known, the savage races are subjected to a life of chance. During the "lean" years their development is seriously retarded; during the "fat" years they make marked progress in general physical condition as well as in intelligence. The French scientific mission to the Fuegians of Cape Horn reported, what was after all only a common observation, namely, that "nutrition has great importance in relation to their external form." Those "who, in a state of semi-starvation, had a lean, repulsive look, acquired surprising grace, and even beauty of outline, after a period of good feeding." Lewis H. Morgan has pointed out in "Ancient Society" that the regularity and certainty of the food supply were factors of fundamental importance in

lifting the savage races to a higher plane of culture. "The domestication of animals," he says, "provided a permanent meat and milk subsistence which tended to differentiate the tribes which possessed them from the mass of other barbarians." The Aryan and Semitic races were especially favored in that they were surrounded by animals adapted to domestication. The American aborigines were, on the other hand, retarded in their development by the lack of animals so adapted. Mr. Morgan is inclined to believe that it was to this permanent food supply, which surrounded them, that the inhabitants of the Eastern hemisphere owe their pre-eminent endowments. At any rate, he says, the healthful and invigorating influence upon the race, and especially upon the children, was undoubtedly remarkable. Dr. A. F. Chamberlain has called attention to the fact (which Dr. D. G. Brinton had previously pointed out) that "All over the world *la misère* (lack, above all, of enough good things to eat), has, . . . made itself felt as a prime factor in the causation of human variation. This is so in France, where, according to Collignon, diminution of stature, in certain districts, follows closely in its wake, or in northern Europe, where, Virchow tells us, the dwarfish Lapps are '*Kümmerformen*, as compared with their cousins, the Finns,' or in the Kalahari desert in South Africa, with its miserable Bushmen, of whom the shortest are also the most wretchedly nourished."

These are but a few instances to show the belief of many students that the part nutrition has played and is playing in the development of races can hardly be overestimated. If it is so important as a cause of the wide differences between the various races, it is hardly of less importance as a cause of the wide difference between the various classes in any one race or nation. Lester F. Ward, in his recent book, *Pure Sociology*, has expressed his belief that "ample natural nutrition enjoyed by a whole people or by a large social class will cause a healthy development which will ultimately show itself through physical and mental superiority. Thus far such has been the history of mankind that it has always been a special class that has been able thus fully to nourish the body. That class has always been superior physically to the

much larger class that has always been inadequately nourished." If this is true, and if what G. Delaunay asserts is also true, namely, that evolution is nothing more nor less than "the nutrition of anatomical elements," the vital social significance of underfed children will be seen at once.

The comparison, which is involved in the foregoing, between savage tribes and the poor of our civilized communities, is not so far-fetched as it may at first appear. Superficial observation would more generally mark a similarity were it not that our system of common-school training has—without altering in any marked degree the physical characteristics of the children of the poor—so changed their general bearing and manners that careful physical examination would be necessary in order to determine what physical likeness exists. A picture taken of some children attending the London Board Schools in 1878 showed them to be "wild, unkempt, loosely built, ragged, barefoot children, who looked like savages and not like human beings." The schools, however, have "civilized" the children, but to what extent they have improved the under-nourished ones in physique and mental capacity is unknown, although even there some slight improvement has probably occurred. Nevertheless, the irregularity with which the children of the poor obtain proper nutriment must make them suffer in some degree the physical weaknesses which affect the backward tribes of an unfavored country. The food supply of our modern proletariat must, by the very nature of their economic condition, be somewhat irregular; it depends to a very considerable extent upon their having work, which, as every one knows, is uncertain, and upon their earning power, which varies with their physical condition. Among the poorest of the working class these two factors, essential to their well-being, are in a constant state of fluctuation. Their earnings are therefore sometimes adequate and sometimes inadequate to supply their actual necessities. Thousands upon thousands of the poorest workers have throughout their working days alternating periods of want and comfort. Their life is a series of ups and downs which depend upon their health, strength and power for usefulness, as well as upon the ever-changing demand for their labor. The class of paupers who

remain outside of institutions suffer from even more extended periods of privation. The children of this pauper class and of the poorest working class are at rare times plentifully fed, but most of the time they are either badly fed or under-fed. Indeed, if it were not for charitable relief, which is in itself as a rule irregular and inadequate, the children of both of these classes would generally go hungry. Nothing is, to my mind, more certain than that the children of the poor are seriously handicapped physically by the almost chronic under-feeding which falls to their lot.

Even casual observation in any large city will convince one of the wide range which exists in the physical well-being of the various classes. Certain standards of healthful living are to be seen wherever the food supply is obtained regularly; and as one goes from such classes to a poorer class and finally down to the poorest, one may note more and more a gradual increase of those evils which result from under-nutrition. Even among the various classes of wage-workers there is a wide difference in the physical well-being. Mr. B. S. Rountree, who has made a careful study of the physical condition of the working class of York, England, shows that the height of the boys of the poorest of the working class is on an average three and one-half inches less when they are thirteen years of age than the height of the children of the most well-to-do of the working class. If the children of the middle or of the upper class were compared with the children of the poorest of the working class, the difference would be, of course, far more striking. In weight the boys of the poorest of the working class are, at thirteen years, no less than eleven pounds lighter than the boys of the best-paid of the working class.

Many studies of a similar character have been made in England and Scotland to show the class variations which are taking place in our civilized communities, by reason of varying conditions of economic well-being. It would be difficult to say whether or not these contrasts between the classes are more marked in England than in this country. The researches of several American investigators, such as Roberts in Pennsylvania, would indicate that they are as great here as elsewhere, but our information

is at present altogether too inadequate for us to venture an opinion upon the matter. Nearly every visitor to London remarks the striking contrast between "the two English races; the rich and the poor." Recently one spoke to me of having seen a marching line of wage-earners who had doubtless during childhood undergone the ordinary privation. They were short, under-sized and anæmic. On the sidewalks watching them were throngs of tall, well-dressed, broad-chested, full-blooded Oxford and Cambridge men. They seemed twice the size of the smallest of the men in the street, and, on an average, there must have been a great difference both in weight and height, not to speak of general physical condition. A comparison between these two classes would probably have shown about the same contrast in physique as if these Oxford and Cambridge men had been compared with Lapps or with the under-nourished Bushmen.

This wide difference in physical well-being among the various classes in England is creating serious concern. Interest was first aroused by the investigations of Booth and Rountree, but even greater concern than that which followed their disclosures has been created by the fact that the recruiting officers of the army find great difficulty in obtaining men fit for military service. A recent report of the Recruiting Officer shows that over 54,000 men out of a total of 92,000 failed in a single year to pass the not very high test of physical efficiency demanded by the army. Among other things in the report the following is perhaps the most significant:

"There was a good deal of difference between the country-bred recruits and those from the towns. The former are of better physique, but are slower at learning their work; they generally eventually develop into good soldiers. The recruits raised in the towns show signs of bad feeding in their infancy and are not constitutionally as strong as the country lads." As a result of this and similar reports there have been a number of important inquiries made by various bodies into the physical condition of the children of the poor. The results of two of the most searching of these inquiries are embodied in the "Report of Investigations into Social Conditions in Dundee," and the "Report of the Med-

ical Officer of Health of Glasgow." In addition to these more detailed investigations, a Royal Commission has reported upon the subject of physical training (in Scotland), and a Departmental Committee has reported a mass of invaluable evidence collected upon the subject of physical deterioration. These reports are perhaps the most valuable ones that have ever been issued upon social conditions in Great Britain. After reading them with great care, it seems fair to say that the consensus of opinion is that under-feeding is the most important cause of physical deterioration among the poorer classes.

Despite this opinion there will be some who will think that under-feeding and an evil environment can have but little effect upon the children of the poorer classes, who, in the estimation of such persons, are born badly and inherit degenerative tendencies from their parents. But the inquiries mentioned and the mass of testimony contained in these English reports indicate that the children badly born are comparatively few. The foremost expert who appeared before the Parliamentary Committee—a man of remarkable knowledge and experience—testified in the most positive terms that it was the environment that played the most effective part in moulding the child. He said in one place that "there is a lack of any real evidence of any hereditary taint or strain of deterioration even among the poor populations of cities." Indeed, he pressed the matter and said: "The point that I desire to emphasize is that our physical degeneration is produced afresh by each generation and that there is every chance under reasonable measures of amelioration of restoring our poorest population to a normal physique." He testifies again as follows: "What I feel is that a good many of my colleagues—I have consulted as many as possible—feel that the percentage of badly born children among the poor is not sensibly greater than among the rich, and that such diseases as are hereditary, such as insanity and neurosis, in which we include alcoholism and other inherited diseases, diseases of bad living, affect one as much as the other." Similar testimony was received from a number of other high sources.

The medical inspection of school children in Dundee supplied

important evidence to support this general position. Indeed, it seems to be pretty generally accepted now that the appalling difference in physique between the children of the poor and the children of the upper classes is due to the difference in food and in environment. Some physicians think that improper food is solely responsible for the physical deterioration among poor children; but this is still a much-debated question, although it may be said that no one whose opinion seemed worthy of consideration doubted that it was the first important cause. Dr. Alfred Eichholz, H. M. Inspector of Schools, stated his own conclusion and that of his associates in the following words: "I hold a very firm opinion, which is shared by medical men, members of education committees, managers, teachers, and others conversant with the condition of school children *that food is at the base of all the evils of child degeneracy; that is to say, if we can take steps to insure the proper, adequate feeding of the children, the evil will rapidly cease.*"

It would be difficult to realize the full import of this last sentence. It may be overstating the case. If he alone of those who are giving expert and detailed study to this problem were of this opinion, we might perhaps be less impressed; but he is only one of many who feel the tremendous importance of proper food in preventing the most serious forms of degeneracy.

As a result largely of their influence, we have been led almost to deify the importance of parental responsibility. We have permitted rising generations to be starved and ruined, physically and mentally, hoping that by so doing we might create in the parents a sense of their responsibility. Refusing aid to hungry children has even in certain cases been resorted to in order to make the parent cease idling or give over intemperance. Pauperism has been at times considered the one thing above all to be feared; the suffering of little children (even their physical and mental ruin, although that was not always thought of) appeared excusable if by chance it should prevent the ruin of the family by pauperization. The brutal faith of the Manchester School of Political Economists was in large part the faith of these theorists, and they therefore opposed the extension of governmental functions,

even when aimed at removing the conditions which produced misery and poverty. Everyone will agree that pauperism is an evil thing to be discouraged, and that parental responsibility is of fundamental importance; but there is also a time when social action is wholesome and becomes necessary and a time when society's responsibility for the child is as much an obligation as the responsibility of its parents.

Society is too much involved to ignore the problem of the underfed child. To a very large extent the degenerate, the delinquent, the pauper, etc., of this generation are the children of poverty-stricken parents. Let me quote again from Dr. Alfred Eichholz. Speaking first regarding the school work of underfed children, he says: "The work throughout shows want of intelligence. There is dullness of mind, an early flagging of brain power, and the children are unable to pursue their work for a length of time as compared with normal children. They find arithmetic most difficult to learn, their memory power is not a thing to reckon upon. There is very little memory power, and with children, who in a normal condition depend entirely upon their memory for getting hold of things and who only reason late, this is a fatal handicap for any mental progress. The want of food, the absence of any home training and self-control will account for any absent power of endurance. And a further index of their abnormal nerve condition is their exceedingly excitable neurotic condition. They act exceedingly excitable and nervous; it is their nerves which carry them over an effort; for instance, they make a very good start in drill or physical exercises, but after a short time they become lumpy and inelastic in their movements, and there is nothing but a heavy thud in their movements. As regards games, the boys and girls enjoy noisy and rough horseplay, but are unable to fix their energy on any organized form of sport. Boys are hardly interested in games sufficiently to enjoy a game of football, and their tendency to flagging is serious enough to make any sustained game impossible. They cannot enjoy football and can only go through part of the game, for they have not the staying power to get through a match."

It will be clearly seen that children so handicapped physically

and mentally as to be unable to profit by the school training offered them are pretty sure to be failures in life. In all likelihood they will eventually recruit the masses in poverty. They are unable to do otherwise, and we take a very petty view when we blame such children either because they are backward in school or incapable and unintelligent in their work later in life. Wherever the blame may lie, upon the parents or society, it can hardly be placed upon the children. To one without knowledge concerning the development of the human structure, it is astonishing to realize how early in life physical weaknesses, and, consequently, mental weaknesses, become fixed.

Among the experts there is some difference of opinion concerning the particular years in which the greatest development may take place. Some physicians believe the most important time to be the first year or two of life, while others maintain that the period from ten to fifteen years is the vital time, but they all agree that the defects, whether physical or mental, are so fixed at the time the child leaves school that it is doubtful if any remedial work undertaken later can altogether remove them. To be sure, very little effort has ever been made to see what might be done.

The experience at Elmira would indicate that by means of a most rigid physical renovation important results might be obtained even late in life, but, in any case, for the great mass of poor who never enter charitable institutions whatever physical or mental defects they acquire in childhood must remain fixed, effectually limiting their power and handicapping them in life's struggle until the very end of their industrial usefulness. But even for those defective, sub-normal or delinquent ones who are sent to institutions the work of physical renovation means but a tardy application of social measures to ameliorate their condition.

Trying to remedy the evil effects which bad food and evil environment have wrought upon childhood is, it will be generally agreed, a roundabout and more or less unsatisfactory way of obtaining results. The child can be moulded physically and mentally; he can be fashioned. It is better that social effort should be aimed at accomplishing results during the years of the child's early life than that model institutions shall be established,

equipped for the purpose of remedying in men what should never have been permitted to develop in their childhood. Reformatories for men are now unquestionably necessary and must continue to be necessary so long as the causes of physical and mental deterioration are permitted to remain persistently at work among the children.

It is not the purpose of this paper to suggest remedial measures; it is rather to state certain important considerations which might lead philanthropic associations to make careful inquiries into the extent of under-feeding and into the evil results of under-feeding. Certainly improper housing cannot be said to be the direct cause of so much social misery as under-feeding. Upon that point nearly all of the social students abroad seem agreed. Under-feeding is a direct cause of physical deterioration, and it is the first factor in the development of anæmia, rhachitis, scrofulosis and tuberculosis. The majority of the ailments of infants are unquestionably due to poor nutrition. This fact is testified to by experts abroad and also by the Superintendent of the Babies' Hospital of New York City. Dr. Richard Derby, President of the New York Eye and Ear Infirmary, says: "It is undoubtedly true that in a vast number of cases of eye disease bad feeding plays a very important etiological moment." The head nurse of the Presbyterian Hospital of New York reports the result of an inquiry into this matter in the following words: "In going over the records for the past year I find that the majority of our patients are suffering from diseases caused by poor nutrition." Inquiries made in a number of dispensaries have elicited similar testimony regarding the importance of under-feeding as a cause of physical ailments among the poor of our largest American city. From abroad we gather a great mass of testimony leading us to the same conclusion. Physicians testifying before the Parliamentary Committee on Physical Deterioration (see evidence of Eichholz, Collie, Vincent, Hutchinson, Ashby, *et al.*) spoke of under-feeding as the most important cause of physical deterioration. They emphasized the injurious effect of under-feeding upon general physical condition and upon height, weight and stamina. They asserted that the effects upon childhood of under-nourish-

ment could not be remedied in after-life. The effects of under-feeding upon the physical constitution are such as to render it unable to resist the inroads of disease, and it is, therefore, a contributory cause of considerable moment in producing excessive sickness. Zymotic diseases especially are encouraged by the weakened physical condition which results from under-feeding. It is said that death rates are very largely augmented by under-feeding, for the reason that it assists in the spread of disease and produces a physical condition which cannot readily recover from the effects of disease. Indeed, it is believed by many that the excessive death rate prevailing among the infant population of our tenement districts, cannot be appreciably lowered until some method is devised which will prevent the widespread evils resulting from poor nutrition. It is said, not without good reason, that the vast sanitary improvement which has occurred in the last few decades has for this reason had but little effect in reducing infant mortality.

The physical effects of under-feeding are, however, not the only evils worthy of consideration. Poor nutrition has a most important effect upon the mental condition. It is general testimony that underfed children are unable to profit by school work. Indeed, one physician claims that it is cruel to impose upon them the strain of mental effort. A superintendent of nurses in New York City writes me that "two-thirds of the children in the tenement families are not sufficiently nourished to do good brain work in school." Dr. R. J. Collie, medical inspector under the late London School Board, testifies that under-feeding is frequently the direct cause of defective mental condition. Speaking of the children of the Schools for Mental Defectives he asserts that they are "functionally mentally defective. *Their brains are starved*, and naturally fail to react to the ordinary methods of elementary teaching. *In the absence of proper provision for feeding the ill-nourished children* (which, in his opinion, would largely prevent the evil) these special schools are fulfilling a useful function. Many of these children are," he says, "apparently only dull and backward, but they are really functionally defective. And in a certain proportion of cases, it is only the result of semi-starvation." In most of the cities abroad, where they have undertaken to feed

the children at school, it has been noted that as soon as the children begin to receive proper food regularly, except, of course, in those cases where some permanently defective condition has arisen, the dull and stupid ones become bright, attentive and capable in their studies. It has been found by actual experience that food creates a physical and mental condition which enables the child, otherwise considered backward, to acquire the knowledge which the teachers are endeavoring to impart.

As under-feeding plays so important a part in the physical and mental deterioration which exists among the poor, it very naturally has an important place among the causes which produce those social derelicts represented by the criminal, vagrant and pauper classes. Nor is this the whole extent of the evil, for under-feeding also plays a very large part in producing a great mass of inefficient and incapable wage-workers who augment our national distress. They make up a considerable part of that casually employed class who never receive, and perhaps never deserve, a living wage. Its effect in creating unnatural desires and immoral tastes goes without question. It has long been recognized as a contributory cause in creating a desire for alcoholic drinks which commonly ends in alcoholism. Very probably there would be fewer of the aimless, the lazy and the shiftless if there were less under-feeding.

It is, of course, impossible, without more adequate knowledge, to give any definite information as to the relative importance of this cause among all the other causes involved in creating the above-mentioned conditions of individual or social pathology. There are numerous other causes at work among the poor, and even the most careful scientific inquiry would doubtless fail to determine the relative importance of under-feeding, unsanitary tenements, hereditary weaknesses, in producing those physical, mental or moral weaknesses which are so generally observed by students of those in poverty. In any case, it is now impossible to do more than to mention a few important considerations which should lead us to a more careful examination of the causes lying at the basis of these social ills.

A careful estimation of the causes which produce these many

problems would unquestionably put us in the way of carrying out more wisely and effectually our remedial measures. If under-feeding plays so important a part as indications now lead us to believe, we must face with every new generation these same sad problems until a way is found for meeting the underlying evil. Until then every new generation of children will suffer anew the same deterioration which we now mark among the adults of our own generation. Poverty, crime, mental and moral weakness and industrial inefficiency must continue to be dealt with as results and effects until their causes are determined and methods of uprooting those causes are devised. However generous and lavish the state may be in supporting, in caring for or in renovating the adult wrecks of a wronged childhood, it cannot be thought that the work of hospital, prison or alms-house is meeting the problem; for whatever we may do for the adults of our generation, the rising generation of little ones will surely and inevitably bring its wrecks to the same institutions for tardy care and belated remedial effort.

PHILADELPHIA PUISSANT

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

THE Americans are indeed, what with their good-nature and their private business, a long-suffering people. But patience has its limits, and when a ring has pushed paternal government too far an insurrection may break out. Rings are generally able to scent the coming storm, and to avert it by making two or three good nominations and promising a reduction of taxes. Sometimes, however, they hold on their causes, fearless and shameless, and then the storm breaks upon them.

Thus, out of abundant observation and experience, James Bryce analyzes the situation in many an American community of the present day. He described what has come to pass in Philadelphia, a synonym for conservatism, and its government long a byword among her sister cities.

One would have indeed been regarded as an idle dreamer and a futile visionary, who a year ago had prophesied that Mayor Weaver, of Philadelphia, would become one of the most popular municipal reformers in America; that the administration of the city would be divorced from the dominant political machine and established on a business basis; that the power and prestige of that "Organization" would be broken and shattered, and its leaders driven into political obscurity; that the councils of the city would deliberate on the real needs of the community and act for its best interests, and not as mere automata; that the public opinion of the city would become alert, aggressive, puissant.

This, however, is just what has come to pass, and more, too; and while the past eight months have been so crowded with events, significant, historical events, that anything like a detailed recital of them is out of the question, a brief outline of them will prove helpful and suggestive, not only to those who are interested in learning how it all came about, but to those who are concerned in working out similar problems in other communities.

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At the November election in 1904, Philadelphia gave an unprecedented majority of 150,000 for the Republican candidates, and Pennsylvania broke all records by recording a majority of over 500,000 for Roosevelt and the whole Republican ticket. The Democratic representation in the legislature was almost a negligible quantity, being confined to fifteen members of the House out of a membership of 205, and ten members of the Senate. The Republican organization had complete possession of Philadelphia. It controlled every office in the city and county government, even the minority places being filled by complaisant and manageable Democrats. The state and federal officeholders located in the city were its selection. The Democratic minority had been reduced to a pitiful spectacle, dependent upon Republican help to keep it from defeat at the hands of the independents. The old reform organization, the Municipal League, was providing for the formation of a new body to carry forward its work, so there was practically no opposition to the "organization." It was all-powerful, as none of its predecessors had ever been.

Either from good-nature or extreme preoccupation, public opinion had become inert and indifferent, and therefore ineffective.

This was the condition of affairs in Philadelphia and in Pennsylvania when the legislature met in January, 1905. It was the condition which prevailed at the following February election, when the Republicans elected their own ticket with no observable difficulty and diverted 50,000 votes to the Democratic minority candidates for magistrates, so as to insure their election over the candidates of the City Party, that body having been brought into the field by the new Committee of Seventy.

Possessed of such complete and arbitrary power, the Republican "leaders" did not take the trouble to consult with their lieutenants and workers. They contented themselves with issuing orders. Consultation took too much time. When the Ripper bills, designed to emasculate the existing government in Philadelphia, were introduced, only a few members of the legislature knew anything about them. I happened to be on the floor of the House at Harrisburg on the day they were introduced and

a number of members asked me what the bills meant and why they were introduced. They were as much in the dark as to their purposes as was I, an outsider.

This, however, did not prevent the prompt passage of the bills, without any public demand for them or any public hearing. They were passed in the fewest number of days possible under the law, and if the people had any rights which the politicians were bound to respect they were not mentioned or considered. And why should they be? There had been no evidence that the people themselves were interested in them.

The Governor, however, gave two public hearings, and after vetoing two of the Rippers, he approved the more important ones, stating that if the people did not like them they had a chance to select members of the legislature pledged to repeal them before they went into operation in April, 1907.

The Ripper legislation was passed with such ease that the organization was emboldened to put through its extension of the gas lease in the same way. Its control of Philadelphia councils was as absolute as its control of the legislature and it did not have to consider the attitude of the Mayor, as it had more than a two-thirds majority at its command, so, on April 20, 1905, without previous consultation or notice, without previous discussion, the "Organization" whip introduced a resolution instructing the Finance Committee to enter into negotiations with the United Gas Improvement Company with the purpose of ascertaining whether a contract could be made for anticipating annual payments to the city under the existing lease.

The United Gas Improvement Company graciously conferred with the city's representatives—God save the mark!—and an ordinance was agreed upon, surrendering the city's gas works to the United Gas Improvement Company until 1980, and depriving the citizens of Philadelphia of cheaper gas until 1928 and forfeiting all claims to future profits during the seventy-five years the lease was to continue, all in consideration of a payment of \$25,000,000 in cash before December 15, 1907.

Under the existing lease the city's share of profits was estimated at \$34,796,370 for the thirty years of its duration, of

which \$3,505,924 had already been paid. At the same average rate (to-wit, about \$1,000,000 per annum), the city's rightful share under a seventy-five years' lease would amount to \$75,000,000.

And yet for \$25,000,000 in hand it was proposed that the city should deed its interest in that amount, at the same time yielding control over the price of gas, and an ordinance to this effect was introduced and its passage predicted for May 4.

Then the people "woke up" and have kept awake, and "things are certainly different now."

Philadelphia's period of long-suffering and indifference was over. The slow-growing, latent indignation began to manifest itself in no unmistakable manner. The "absentee" boss who had visited the city long enough to have the ordinance introduced and to give orders as to the date of its final passage, was summoned by wire to return and he did, and he remained on hand until the election of November 7 relieved him of further anxiety or responsibility.

Public meetings were called and the new lease, and the councilmen supporting it, came in for the severest of castigations; but town meetings were no new thing and the politicians did not pay much attention to them until their number and attendance and the character of the speakers began to force a new consideration and attention.

The newspapers, with an important exception, were arranged against the lease. It was no new thing for the Philadelphia papers to be against the bosses and their plans, but this time they spoke with authority, because they spoke in the name of an aroused electorate; because they represented a determined public spirit.

Organizations of various kinds began to fall in line. The Committee of Seventy, a little slow at the start, soon made up for lost time. A counter-proposition was suggested and E. B. Smith & Co., a well-known firm of responsible bankers, took the matter in hand and on Monday, the 15th of May, formally offered to give to the city as much as the United Gas Improvement Company, and guaranteed in addition to give the city at first one-third

and afterward one-half of the profits, to reduce the price of gas, and to spend \$20,000,000 in improvements.

Under ordinary circumstances this offer by responsible bankers, accompanied as it was by a certified check of \$250,000, should have settled the matter. It was so greatly superior to the United Gas Improvement Company's proposition that there was little doubt what the Council *should* do, and there was equally little doubt as to what it *would* do and did do a few days later. Amidst a scene of confusion never before witnessed in Council, with prominent citizens and bourgeoisie touching elbows, with the police in large numbers to keep order, amid cries of "Robber" and "Thief," the "Organization" demonstrated that it controlled the Council and was defiant alike of the Mayor and of public opinion. Just to show what it could do with its puppets it passed certain bills over the Mayor's veto, and to keep its agreement with the Rapid Transit Company, certain others, and then the Dolan United Gas Improvement Company's ordinance was put through despite public protest, despite the greatly superior offer of E. B. Smith & Co., despite the Mayor's request that he be given an opportunity to be heard on the proposition. But the "Organization" was in control, and all else but its will was disregarded. The public demonstration in the lower chamber was so obnoxious to the "Organization" lieutenants that the galleries were ordered cleared—presumably that the work of the day might be carried through without delay or interruption.

This Council's meeting of May 18, 1905, represents the climax of the Durham-McNichol "Organization," the high water mark of autocratic machine power and influence. Already indignant and aroused beyond endurance, the people entered upon the second phase of their struggle for municipal independence with renewed vigor and determination.

Then Mayor Weaver took a hand. His treatment by the "Organization" had been brutal in the extreme. He had been severely criticised for his complaisance to the machine, and that body had treated him contemptuously. His powers under the Bullitt Bill remained, however, and he determined to use them for the benefit and redemption of the city. He began by removing the

powerful Directors of Public Safety and of Public Works who had openly placed adherence to the machine above the city's welfare. This one act gave to the people greater confidence in their ultimate triumph than any other one in the recent history of our city. It revealed the Mayor's attitude, but still more the fact that the great powers of government were to be utilized for the first time in many years in the interest of the people. Under the previous order of things these were of secondary importance, and were considered only after the "Organization's" had been attended to.

The people flocked to the Mayor's standard. His promise to veto the ordinance gave the opponents of the lease renewed hope. A campaign, with its aim "to stand by the Mayor," was organized, and then began the series of events which constitute the most significant features of the whole revolution—the attack on Councilmen, to persuade where that was possible, to compel where that was necessary, support of the Mayor's veto. Mass-meetings were held and Councilmen invited to attend. When they did attend they were asked point blank what they proposed to do, and when they did not attend the meetings adjourned *en masse* to seek them out and interrogate them as to their intention. This "sweat box" process reached some, and a weakening in the lines of the "Organization's" forces became apparent.

These advantages were followed up in some instances by a rigid social and business boycott. A feed merchant lost a weekly contract of \$100 and other business, and he reconsidered his position. A produce merchant lost trade so rapidly and his associates so completely abstained from speaking to him that he reconsidered. A large confectioner saw a new light as his business began to leave him, as did another, a laundryman, who for three days did not have a shirt left at his place. A dyer lost a job of dyeing 100,000 pounds of wool; a saloonkeeper saw his trade fall away to serving ten drinks a day; a building association attorney had no one to speak to him when he went to meetings, and had notice of discharge served upon him; a florist had \$10,000 of Memorial Day orders conditionally cancelled. These people finally voted to sustain the Mayor's veto.

Others were brought into line because their friends and neighbors ostracized them. One councilman promised to change his vote "to save his wife's life," she having been made critically ill by the attitude of her neighbors and their criticism of her husband.

When these methods did not avail, others were used. In one ward posters were placarded on all the vacant spaces urging voters to go to their Select Committeeman and "tell him your views on the gas lease. * * We may yet compel him to represent us and not the United Gas Improvement Company and the corrupt bosses who wish to jam the measure through over the Mayor's veto." The poster contained pictures of his home and usual loafing place, as well as his telephone number, so that his constituents might know where and how to reach him. After a few days he capitulated.

One Councilman after another came over to the anti-lease pro-Mayor side, and then the "Organization," seeing the handwriting on the wall, had the lease withdrawn and thought to end the incident. Not so the people, they had tasted of the delights of independence; they had seen the results of their efforts bear fruit. They realized their power and saw that there was still more and harder work to be done.

The Mayor's appointees were to be confirmed, and a "stand by the Mayor" meeting was held, and a campaign was begun to effect this end. Then the "Organization" said, "Don't shoot; we'll come down," and the lawsuits that had been instituted were withdrawn and the appointees unanimously confirmed. This, however, did not serve to divert public attention or the Mayor's purpose. Hardly a day passed without a startling development. Sinécures were abolished. Inefficient men were removed. A clean and capable Civil Service Secretary was appointed. Other competent men were placed in office. Contracts were investigated and fumigated. Parties suspected of complicity in conspiracies to defraud the city were arrested and bound over for trial. New contracts were awarded to the lowest bidders. The registration lists were purged. Pay-rolls were pruned. Reforms and economies were introduced at every point. An era of good government had set in—but there was still more work to be

done. The results must be made permanent. The grip of the "Organization" on the offices must be loosened. A contest at the polls was inevitable, and both sides began to prepare for it.

Scenting the storm, to paraphrase Bryce, the "Organization" took steps to remodel its ticket and substituted clean and unobjectionable candidates for those it had nominated earlier in the spring before the outbreak of popular wrath and indignation; but it was too late to avert the impending disaster.

The people were set on a change. As never before they were aroused. The situation can best be illustrated by a conversation I had with an "Organization" ward leader. In discussing the situation I asked him how the present one compared with the independent campaign of 1896, and he replied: "Why, that wasn't in it with this one. Why, now we are up against the people." And so they were, as the results on November 7, 1905, clearly showed.

I wish that I might have the time and space to tell the story of the campaign of the fall of 1905; how gallantly the people responded to the call of duty; how the young men threw aside their personal inclinations and worked night and day for the city's welfare; how the older men broke the partisan affiliations and habits of a lifetime to cast a vote for decency and independence; how the Mayor by voice and official action fought mightily to break the shackles that had so long bound our community.

The City Party was a volunteer party. Just as the machine was a culmination of other machines and its efforts, so the reform forces working together so effectively in the late campaign were the culmination of a long line of persistent effort. The "Organization," however, was based, as Everett Colby pointed out in his brave and successful fight in New Jersey, on men and their selfish ambitions, interests and desires, while the independents represented ideas—ideas of fundamental honesty and efficiency in the public service; the idea that commonwealth and city were to be placed above party; that public interests must take precedence of private ones.

That the Philadelphia victory represented the triumph of ideas, rather than of men, was strikingly illustrated in the fact that the names of candidates were seldom mentioned; there was

an almost entire absence of personalities; even the offices to be filled were given an inconspicuous amount of attention. The fight was a vital one between opposing ideas of public policy and voters did not allow themselves to be diverted by any unnecessary discussion on minor and subsidiary questions. The candidates on both sides were clean men, so that the element of personal fitness was practically eliminated.

Philadelphia stands to-day in the sisterhood of American cities, not only as an illustration that the citizens can prevail (for that proposition really needed no demonstration), but that they wished to prevail and to prevail for the right.

The Philadelphia victory represents all that Jerome's does and more. It represents the primacy of the people and a repudiation of local bosses; and in addition, the subordination of private interests to the public good. While those who were opposed to the "Organization" had many and varying views upon public policy, they were all united as to the iniquity of the existing conditions of affairs. They put aside differences of opinion as to details and incidentals, and united their forces against the common enemy. This was, in its way, as great and as striking an object lesson as that contained in Jerome's victory.

It is not an uncommon occurrence for the machine to win, not because of superior men or strength, but because of the divided enemy. Voters of an independent turn of mind all too frequently insist upon their own individual ideas as to procedure, and fail to see that the one direct result of this division of opinion and forces is to assure the triumph of the enemy.

The results in Pennsylvania, Ohio and New York of necessity will prove most helpful to the lovers of improvement, and November 7, 1905, will go down in American municipal history as a red-letter day. The American people are coming to apply on election day in an increasing degree the principles they have learned and professed on the other 364 days of the year. The great need for the present in Philadelphia, as elsewhere, is a continuance along the same lines. There must be no relaxation of effort, no reaction, but a persistent pressing forward to make sure that the satisfactory results of November 7 are made permanent and are multiplied.

THE TIMES AND THE MANNERS

THE November municipal and State elections had that peculiar interest which attaches to any event that helps a people to know its own mind. It is not an easy matter for an entire community, and certainly not an easy matter for a commonwealth or a nation, to know its own mind. Individuals, and little groups of individuals, who get together and talk may know what they feel and what they think. But when they try to imagine what millions of individuals feel or think, they usually achieve little more than an extremely vague guess.

Ever since the collapse of the shipbuilding trust drew attention to the alliance between corporate wealth and the political machines, the American people have felt a growing curiosity to know its own mind on a number of important questions, and on three in particular. We have wondered whether we dare take our arrogant political bosses by the scruff of their necks and pitch them into the political void. We have wondered whether more than a few hundreds of independent voters, here and there, would ever learn to scratch a regular ticket; and we have wondered whether there was any real popular interest in the proposition that a democratic community is not necessarily such a jackass that it may never venture to retain the wealth naturally and rightfully belonging to it, instead of giving it away to a lot of rotten corporations.

Sooner than we anticipated, our curiosity on all these points has been satisfied. Election news was never less trite or platitudinous than it was on the evening of November 7 last. The overthrow of any one of such a precious assortment of bosses as Messrs. Odell, Murphy, Cox and Penrose would have been an event of no mean significance. The overwhelming of them all, collectively and at once, was a revolution. Yet this cataclysm was only one incident of the day's doings. New York City, the city of Tammany, if you please, elected by ballot scratching a district attorney who had the temerity to put himself in the field and run without a mate, after all the great political organizations had refused to nominate him, and all the "practical poli-

ticians " had laid themselves out to defeat him. And in that same city, the city of Wall Street, a municipal ownership " butter in," breathing out threatenings and slaughter against all syndicates and rings, gave Mr. McClellan such a run for his health that the courts had to be appealed to for a recount of ballots.

It will be well for the American people if, having learned its own mind on these great questions, it does not straightway forget. The nineteenth century and its interests have passed into history. The twentieth century is to witness the grand struggle for the establishment of a genuinely republican polity. The bewilderingly rapid growth of vast wealth has given oligarchy a big chance and a long start in this land consecrated to popular liberties; but the people, too long indifferent or incredulous, are fully awake at last, and the civic battle of November 7 was the first engagement of a campaign that will not end until Mr. Lincoln's picture of a government of the people, for the people, and by the people, has been converted into something more substantial than a masterpiece of battlefield rhetoric.

It may have been an accident that on this particular occasion the revolt against the bosses and the issue of municipal ownership were so closely associated. The association is a natural one, however, and it will persist. Boss rule is often thought of as inevitable because too many loose-thinking persons confound it with leadership, and political leadership we must have. The political leader in a republic should be responsible to the people. The boss is responsible only to interests that pay him for his services, in one or another way, and which are trying to make themselves, instead of the people, the real governing power.

The boss is a product of conditions that have created a demand for a business agent to stand between powerful corporations and legislative bodies. The corporations want franchises, or other favors, or immunity from regulative legislation. In exchange for these valuable considerations, and in spite of the fact that they have no souls, they contribute, in a spirit of lofty patriotism, of course, large sums to campaign funds. For details the reader may consult admissions made to Mr. Charles Hughes

by our lately esteemed life-insurance presidents. Legislative bodies, on their part, are made up of sensitive gentlemen, who are not averse to some prolongation of their political careers, if they can secure re-elections or appointments without too conspicuously transgressing the penal code. Often they have to depend upon unpatriotic voters, who dislike to waste a day in going to the polls, unless they are paid for their time. Campaign funds are of assistance in the delicate adjustment of this difficulty. Naturally, under these conditions, legislators develop a nice sense of obligation to the donors of contributions, and, as honorable gentlemen, dislike to deny them any legislation for which they may ask. The whole arrangement, obviously, is not only delicate, but also complicated, and men of perspicacity find active employment in thus making both ends nicely meet. These latter gentlemen are the persons vulgarly known as bosses.

In view of these familiar facts, it is obviously improbable that any one political overthrow of bosses will be a lasting reform, so long as great corporate interests are relatively as powerful as they are now. In one way or another, they will pay for what they want, and get what they pay for. In one way or another, they will continue to exercise that mysterious power which the writers on political science call "sovereignty." That power will be taken from them and will be restored to the people, in whom, to use the technical expression, it should "reside," when the ownership of our vast public utilities also is taken from them, and conveyed, as it should be conveyed, to the public. In short, the way to get rid of the bosses for good and all is to establish the public ownership of public utilities.

In all our comments upon Russian affairs we have assumed the inevitableness of a revolution which would sweep away autocracy, the despotic internal rule of a corrupt bureaucracy, and a multitude of minor abuses, and would establish a polity firmly based on democratic rights. Until the end of the war with Japan, however, it seemed possible that the revolution might proceed quietly and unattended by such horrors as those that marked the downfall of an *ancien régime* in France. Apparently, it was pos-

sible that Czardom might be converted into a constitutional monarchy, and that parliamentary government, if not of the English, at least of the German type, might be established through the prompt adoption of wise measures of concession.

This possibility, and the hope built upon it, were shadowed, however, by the uncertainty attaching to every detail of imperial purpose. For a more irresolute, shifty, and intellectually contemptible specimen of mankind than Nicholas II. has never held a post of awful responsibility in a great national crisis. The march of events has shown how well-grounded was distrust, how vain were hopes. Had the Czar been a man of masterful personality, capable of initiative and of inspiring confidence as a leader that could be depended on to fulfill his promises, he might two years ago have established a national assembly of limited powers which would for the time have satisfied popular demands. When, a year too late, he granted that concession, nothing short of a *Douma*, representing the entire people and exercising full legislative powers could avail. And, finally, when Nicholas, on the thirtieth of October, driven to the wall by a strike of national proportions that threatened every moment to become armed insurrection, and forced by Count Witte to look the inevitable in the face, signed a decree establishing *Douma* government, and "real inviolability of person, freedom of conscience, speech, union, and association," he was again too late. The demand then was for a constituent assembly and universal suffrage.

Still, something might have been saved from the general disintegration had the people imposed any faith in the Czar's word. That faith he had too utterly shattered. Only a few moderates, rallying around Count Witte, as Premier of the new cabinet, have assumed that the imperial promise would be put honestly into effect. Tricked and disappointed time after time, the working classes in the cities have now found voice and the courage to act. The revolution is under full way and no concession of any imaginable description can check it. It will stop as the French revolution stopped, only when its forces are spent.

And when the storm is over the record of waste and horror will appall. Already, it is probable, the loss of life through de-

liberate massacre and outbursts of revengeful fury has exceeded the total carnage of the "reign of terror," and one feature of infamy will mark this chronicle, without parallel in human history. The massacres undoubtedly did not begin this time in the madness of starving crowds. They were planned and ordered in cold blood in government offices at St. Petersburg, deliberately, fiendishly, for the purpose of fomenting race hatreds and dividing the opposition to imperial rule.

Whatever the immediate outcome of the movement may be, one certainty of the situation is that the Russian political system will now be resolved into its elements, and, whether through much or little further tribulation, a new order will be evolved. Russia will henceforth take her place among the nations that, in Lowell's phrase, have found their souls, and among these she will rank, when the work of reorganization is achieved, as one of the greatest of free peoples.

When, at the close of the first century of our national life, Emerson, our prophet of religious freedom, foretold the uprearing of a church to be founded on "moral science" and "ethical law," he could hardly have expected that the next thirty years would witness that fulfillment which, in the claim of his disciples, has been thus far achieved. This, doubtless, was because Emerson, the poet, was not and could not be the man of practical affairs. To dispense with "shawm and psaltery," to "send man home to his central solitude," this was inevitable. A more than temporary isolation was, however, impossible. To require of him that he "walk with no companion," was not this to ask him to change his nature? How, indeed, without coöperation, was a new church to be maintained? The conception of a society of moral beings without a standard or code to be approximated had in it no basis for reconstruction. It was not enough that man need no longer identify himself with outgrown standards; he must not hesitate to stand for that which solitude would have to say to him. Had not the gospel of individualism itself still to be preached to countless numbers? A universe of men and women, each obeying his or her own moral perceptions, was clearly not

to be regarded as a literal outcome of crumbling beliefs. The celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the organization of the Society for Ethical Culture bears evidence, at least, that no such interpretation of Emerson's philosophy was made.

Notwithstanding their reliance upon the usual methods of attaining social ends, the ethical societies assure us that their creed is now nothing more than a negation. The beliefs and dogmas of the pre-Emersonian period are to the present members of the non-evangelical churches as those of the neo-Pythagorians to the Stoics. So far away from the old order of things ritualistic have these groups of the progressively conscientious drifted that it is avowedly their purpose to stop at nothing short of the complete surrender of their idols. Perfect intellectual freedom in the moral and religious life, they tell us, is their main tenet. This sublimated doctrinalism is surely a quicksand foundation, yet the insecurity of his position seems never to disturb the ethical culture apostle at all.

It is easier to account for his cheerfulness, however, than to urge him on his way. It would seem, on the one hand, that the very end of doctrine is in sight for him. It is quite as evident, on the other hand, that for him the term intellectual freedom has no such meaning as other minds attach to it. If, therefore, we fail to get his point of view, it is because of this confusion of ideas. It is certainly far from our purpose to disparage independent thought of any kind, while to counsel the disruption of a body of men and women, eminent in good works, would be unworthy. The ethical cultural group has by no means outlived its usefulness. Conformity to some established idea has been, and will doubtless continue for some time to be, the test of that kind of civilization which we know to-day. Our ethical societies do not impugn this principle. An association for the promotion of ethical conduct is not made up of persons holding manifestly dissimilar standards of behavior. The freedom of private judgment to be found among them is, therefore, not likely to lead to "intellectual anarchy." Our concern lest the further evolution of this creed leave the last of the protestant groups without reason for being, was but momentary.

By their utterances, as well as by their gregariousness, may we be assured that conformity is far from having played its part in human affairs. Because the anti-Trinitarian and non-ritualistic branches of the church require no belief in the supernatural, they regard themselves as having left behind every kind of dogmatism. Yet it would be difficult to imagine a more rigid adherence to one set of dogmas than is theirs. We refer to the dogmas of traditional morality. Was it by going "home to his central solitude" that the twentieth century ethical man came to discard, for example, all dogmas save those of a patriarchal society? Was it there that he learned to distinguish between moral and human ends? Let the voice of satire answer. Let more *Roebuck Ramsdens* convict him of adherence to outworn standards. Even so will it be long before he is done with false gods, or the authoritative teaching of their inexorable commands. While, therefore, intellectual freedom is unlikely to cause any dangerous schism in the organizations to which he now belongs, individual emancipations therefrom, or even minor descriptions therein, need not alarm the faithful.

If the fate of free thought in America resided in the persons of Mr. William McAdoo, Commissioner of the Police of New York City, and the present Mayor of New Haven, the most genial of satirists would despair. Fortunately, the "public opinion" back of these gentlemen was the expression of too heterogeneous and scattered a multitude to threaten any such calamity. The thousands of persons that relied upon the press for their judgments of the stageworthiness of *Mrs. Warren's Profession*, as also the majority of the censorious who were careful to get their impressions at first hand, by going to see it at ten dollars a head, constituted a peculiarly nondescript lot of humans, sundered one from another by individual experience and point of view; and they are not likely to create any standard, either moral or æsthetic.

Notwithstanding the peremptoriness of the public action which proscribed the presentation of Mr. Shaw's hypocrite-scalping drama in New Haven and New York; notwithstanding the

most flagrant misrepresentations of the play by the metropolitan press; because of them, indeed, we may rest assured that neither a mature social conscience nor a chastened public taste was self-revealed in this incident.

However, an unprejudiced champion of the American people has called attention to a habit we have of "going back on" our profoundest mistakes. If Kipling's optimism was not ill-founded, we may depend upon inherent forces to keep our moral balance. To "make the law he flouts," and then to "flout the law he makes," is the privilege of the man who at least dares, and daring succeeds. By this naïve exercise of moral freedom, and an unpleasant crowding of the less daring, the American achieves economic independence. Then, out of the very profits of ruthlessness and of corruption, spring forces that strike corruption—and bad taste—their heaviest blows. While individual millionaires would expend their stored-up energies in teaching the blessedness of poverty and the sweet uses of adversity, by far the larger part of the privately appropriated wealth of the western world is used to instruct us in quite other branches of knowledge. But for those pleasures of the rich for which the ascetic has always condemned them, it is appalling to think how virtuous we might now have been.

This, then, is the paradox—more paradoxical even than Kipling saw it—that lawlessness and lawlessly-made wealth, and not puritan traditions, are the real forces creating the yet unformed American standards of morals and of taste. So we anticipate that the millions subscribed to the new National Theatre, though they shall be paid merely for the privilege of wearing a tiara, or to minimize boredom, will be put to splendid uses. The "artist in a mob-ridden democracy" will henceforth run less danger of rough treatment. As for those unworthy persons who, Mr. John Corbin says, comprise the forces of stupidity and hypocrisy, and whom he soundly berates for keeping the drama on the lowest plane of intelligence, they may take what comfort they can for their pains in the suppression of the so-called defense of immorality by Mrs. Warren and Vivie, but, haply, for good or for ill, the rich and the uncensorious will be too powerful for them.

We wish that Mr. Corbin would make plain to us what kind of depravity he sees in Vivie Warren's "easy acceptance of her mother's self-justification"? His censure of the yellow journalist for intentionally falsifying accounts of the play by urging its defense of immorality, would lead us to infer that he had found much to refute the charge. Yet his own disapproval of what he calls the revolting spectacle of the girl's lack of horror at the depth of degradation revealed to her is not stinted. By her stern refusal to have anything further to do with those who persist in degradation, though the repudiation include the mother who had meant to save her from a more terrible fate, we understand, Mr. Corbin to consider Vivie Warren absolved from the "calm observance of unholy relations," of which the ultra-puritanical press would convict her. But there appears to him to be a point of honor involved in her acceptance of the situation that by her failure to live up to—or to die for—places Vivie rather prominently at the head of disappointing characters of the modern drama. Here, obviously, he sees the point of departure of Shaw's realism from Ibsen's. The author of *Peer Gynt* and *Hedda Gabler*, Mr. Corbin tells us, having taken us into a chamber of horrors, would at least have relieved the situation by "making us feel the nobility of death." Are we to infer from this preference for the conventional *dénouement* that, in the judgment of those who stand for what might be called the higher criticism of the stage, Mr. Shaw has missed a supreme opportunity to convince us of his greatness? Is it the opinion of those who would defend the liberty of the stage, while safeguarding it from all impurity of purpose, that such perversion of a death-to-dishonor situation is a symptom of degeneration that should move us to protest?

Is this discrimination against Vivie altogether fair? It is difficult to see why Mrs. Warren's daughter should be condemned for a breadth of understanding which the higher critic so evidently desires us to exhibit. To recognize in the "courage of her vices" the one commendable trait of Mrs. Warren's character, yet to deprive Vivie of any right to a similar view, does not bespeak that fairness of judgment which it is the office of the higher critic to accord. The want of loveliness in Shaw's rep-

representative of the twentieth-century college woman, as, indeed, in all of his *dramatis personæ*, is much too apparent to need emphasis. To overlook Vivie Warren's one redeeming virtue is to rob her of all excuse for being.

We suspect that it is the suggestion in Mr. Shaw's lines that a life of "unholy pleasure" is less terrible than a death-dealing but "respectable" occupation, or a plunge into Lethian darkness, that is revolting to the defender of the purity of the stage. Having failed to choose one or the other of the conventional alternatives, Mrs. Warren placed her well-bred daughter under the necessity of—what? Does the critic feel that he knows? And what if Mr. Shaw had introduced upon the scene the manufacturer of white lead, whose wealth Mrs. Warren did not give her life to accumulate, and his daughter also? Is it required that all truly moral persons inheriting ill-gotten wealth shall repudiate wrongdoing to the extent of reviling their parents—and turning on the gas? The acceptance of endowments and other forms of benevolence proffered by sons and daughters of unscrupulous millionaires does not bear testimony to overstrictness. There is no evidence that the daughters of white lead manufacturers in real life, or of other exploiters of fellow-men, are condemned if they neither drive their fathers to suicide nor end their own lives tragically.

There is, then, something about his disapproval of Vivie that leads us to doubt whether any benevolent disposition of Mrs. Warren's money by her, though it were no longer invested in the discredited way, would relieve the situation for Mr. Corbin. Plainly, in his mind, there are distinct lines of conduct required of the daughters of persons engaged in questionable enterprises. For each of them, he is sure, there is a particular way out. Vivie Warren, he is convinced, has established an altogether unpraiseworthy precedent. To accuse her of merely "conventional morality," yet to find her most disappointing at the one point where her conduct may be said to depart from conventionality, is, to our mind, a feat of criticism somewhat difficult to follow.

The efforts of Mr. Carnegie to Americanize a Scottish town

illustrate with more than ordinary clearness the difference between what might be called the static and the unstable dissenter. With all its free schools, its public ownership of means of communication, and its tradition of a free kirk, Scotland is to-day the habitat of the most conservative of the free-thinking species. The thwarted attempt to introduce foreign talent into the musical circles of one of its towns, while not a final test of appreciation, presents a number of significant facts. In and of itself the circumstance that the trustees of the Carnegie Dunfermline fund find difficulty in expending one hundred and twenty thousand dollars a year in cultural ways appealing to the people whom it is intended to benefit, seems at first a contribution to our record of the unusual. Compared with the behavior of other peoples under like circumstances, however, the response of Dunfermline to external stimulus differs, perhaps, but little from the normal. From all that the experiment discloses we suspect that it is not appreciation but initiative of which Mr. Carnegie's native town is in need. If Dunfermline prefers to have its own choral union interpret for it the music of such masters as it has learned to enjoy, rather than to hear artists who receive fabulous fees in Milan, in Munich, or New York, why should it not be allowed to manifest its choice?

While doubtless the present development of musical appreciation in its chief centres has been attained through invigorating experiments not unlike those practiced by Mr. Carnegie on various peoples, how slow the progress has been! A Milanese gentleman of fortune, desiring to promote the æsthetic welfare of New York, let us say, early in the nineteenth century, would have met with no small discouragement. Had the entire art world of Milan been brought to our very doors, we would have revived the old cry against "popish practices," and made other unmistakable remonstrance. The gentleman of fortune would have been obliged to wait a considerable time for returns from his beneficence. Nor does history inform us of any sudden or overwhelming obsession of the beautiful, created by our own early patrons of art. The predecessors of Sir Purdon Clarke and of Mr. Conried had each his own trials. There was, however, one

encouragement upon which they could depend. This was the slow but certain progress of a new culture among a population already divided into groups of easily convertible units. Had our first choral societies, and the simpler art of the beginning of the last century been the creation of a less plastic people, hope for the development of the higher æsthetic pleasures must needs have been abandoned.

Even now it is only our great cities, with their mixed populations and world standards, that are in any sense art centers. It should be remembered, moreover, that New York itself is a center of music and a conservator of other fine arts only to the extent that it is a congregation of individuals, drawn largely from elsewhere, who desire, whether or not they attain, the highest critical enjoyment. That it suffers by comparison with older cities where music, painting and architecture delight us, is due to the same causes that affect Dunfermline. Our villages and small towns, except as they are inhabited by millionaires, are not yet even cradles of art. Many of them, it is true, are the beneficiaries of Carnegie libraries, but as yet their churches do not abound in even questionable copies of the old masters, nor are the great singers heard in many of their opera-houses. If the American town differs at all from the Scottish town, it is only in the matter of initiative. If its inhabitants are the descendants of seventeenth-century remonstrants against the natural man, with no conspicuous reversion to type, it will not differ greatly from a community that traces its descent from those who covenanted for the right of Scotland to resist the sensuous trend of the same Stuart régime. If dissenting progenitors have in their day held different views upon the due regulation of human conduct, there is bound to be among their descendants a conflict of preferences, as in Dunfermline, for band concerts, for a choral union monopoly of music, and for the introduction of the virtuoso. The attempt to differentiate a population of Scotch covenanters into cultural groups critical of each other, and therefore assimilable to new standards, will be watched with more than passing interest.

The issue raised between those who are questioning whether

the social settlement ought to be permanent and those who regard fundamental criticism as an aspersion upon settlement activities, is evidence of a more thorough-going investigation than any outsider could well have introduced. The tendency to institutionalize the settlement, and the desire of the leaders of the opposite movement that the settlement neighborhood shall as soon as possible "produce its own directors of civic enterprise," will doubtless be adjusted without the assistance of the layman.

The controversy is not without interest to a larger public, however. According to the view of one of the opposing factions, the settlement, an exotic by its very name, should be but a temporary residence of persons desiring to be socially helpful to a neighborhood possessed of few opportunities for culture and social development. By establishing a home where economic distinctions are unknown, and neighborhood interests may center, the settlement should seek to widen the activities and to broaden the lives of those about it. In this undertaking the "resident" will at first need to suggest and to direct; but from the beginning he should invite suggestions from those about him, and should enter into the social activities peculiar to the neighborhood. It should, moreover, be his aim to give over directive power to the efficient and popular of the group to be socially developed. By a process of gradual elimination he should crowd himself out of office, and eventually withdraw from the scene of his labors, in order that he may "settle" in other neighborhoods that need his co-operation. In no other way, it is urged, can a true democracy be brought into existence. By regarding himself as a necessary and permanent factor in the growth of a particular neighborhood, the institutionalist is depriving those whom he would help of that self-development which they chiefly need. He is in danger of forgetting that he is only a makeshift whose manifest destiny is self-effacement.

There are settlement workers who regard this exposition of the movement as one-sided. They argue that "personal intercourse between the more and the less cultured" is a leveling process by means of which they themselves are as much benefited as are their neighbors. For them the "exotic" idea has in it too

much of the old alms-giving spirit. They would dispense not only with all economic distinctions, but also with everything that differentiated the social group into permanent and temporary classes. They object to the class distinction implied in the very terms "settlement" and "neighborhood." The interests of Eldridge, or of Halstead street, are their interests. They prefer the Italian puppet show, the Yiddish and the Russian theatre to the "uptown" theatres. They live in the neighborhoods in which they have "settled" because it is their wish to do so. There is no conscious asceticism, no temporary self-banishment from Madison Avenue or Lake Shore Drive. The conventionalities and hypocrisies of an exclusive society are intolerable to them. The social service which the settlement should render is not that of an ultimately disbanding missionary society. A democracy made up of neighborhoods whose social development they and their successors shall have conscientiously devoted a part of their lives to attain, but from which they must properly retire, does not appeal to them.

There is an implication of final reward in this idea of the extraneous character of the settlement that the outsider is moved also to question. By insisting upon the withdrawal of the "resident" from neighborhood after neighborhood, does the temporary settler mean the gradual retirement of self-imposed members from social groups to which they do not really belong? When all of the council members and club leaders of the social settlement shall be "neighborhood bred," when the public-school building, the social hall, and each of the residences of a neighborhood shall combine to perform the functions now carried on by a merely temporary organ of public service, what is to become of the self-eliminated? If this service of the settlement worker to one group after another will secure the initiative, and therefore the higher development of the economically inferior, and at the same time break down those limitations to social intercourse which even the exotic admit to be intolerable, what part in the democracy will its retired elements perform? Obviously, the end which those who would institutionalize the settlement are accused of losing sight of is not near. In view, therefore, of the

length of time required for the more comprehensive leveling process, there is something about the idea of the permanency of the settler that suggests an epitomizing in each settlement neighborhood of the larger democracy which it would perhaps be wise to encourage.

The best feature of the popular revolt against the brutalities, dishonesties and imbecilities of American college football is the fresh proof it affords of the essential right-mindedness of the public. A record of nineteen men killed, and of an uncertain but exceedingly large number of serious injuries, many of which will handicap their victims for life, has finally moved the university and college authorities to take the vigorous action that ought to have been taken long ago. For years they have known perfectly well that the game has been everything that clean, manly sport should not be. Foul play of every description they have winked at. Brainless, husky brutes they have matriculated and carried along as special students in defiance of their own rules, for the unconcealed purpose of making a record on the field. They have permitted the gate-money feature to become a scandal of dishonesty, as infamous as it is on the race track, or at the prize-fighting ring. In certain instances, it is generally understood, they have even entered into a direct partnership with the grafters to obtain revenues for the purchase and improvement of athletic grounds and buildings.

The prevailing opinion in academic circles now seems to be in favor of some radical change in the character and conditions of the game which will eliminate the objectionable features. President Roosevelt, with his characteristic passion for playing a leading part in every moral, as in every political movement, has declared himself in favor of this attempt, and two universities, Pennsylvania and New York, have taken steps toward the adoption of some common plan. We are more than skeptical about the possibility of reforming a game that has been proven to be so thoroughly bad in its whole spirit and method. And we believe that Columbia University, by its courageous action in disbanding its football association, has taken the only sound position.

We say this, not merely because we hold that the game has demoralized the intellectual life, and lowered the standards of our colleges—which is true—but also because we are convinced that it has destroyed a true athletic and social interest. The training of intellect is not the only, it is possibly not the most important, function of a college. College life should produce not only scholars, but also gentlemen, in the best sense of the word; men alive with healthy interests and appreciative of the social graces. Sport, real sport, is an invaluable means to the attainment of these ends. But real sport must be open to all college men, and all must be encouraged to participate in it. Americans are notoriously less given to real sport than their English cousins are. They take up games as fads, or as a prophylactic against nervous prostration, or as an excitement; and this false attitude has been encouraged enormously by the public gladiatorial contests of the football teams. All human experience from the days of the Roman Empire until now has demonstrated that nothing is more fatal to the growth of true instincts of healthful play, including every form of real sport, than the habit of congregating in vast assemblages to witness, instead of to play, a game. This habit creates an unhealthy emotionalism merely. True sport involves muscular participation. The American people will be physically and mentally a healthier population than it is now when it honestly takes up the development of honest sport; and it is the duty of our colleges and universities to take the lead in this fundamentally important branch of education.

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J A N U A R Y

1906

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ROBERTS, Peter, was born in Wales, in 1859. In 1883, he graduated from Brecon Memorial College. In 1886, he graduated from Yale Theological Seminary. In 1901, he took the degree of Ph.D. in economics and sociology in Yale University. In 1886, he was ordained to the Congregational ministry, and at present has the charge of the church of that faith in Mahanoy City, Pa. His first book, "The Anthracite Coal Industry," appeared in the fall of 1901, and was brought to special prominence as an authority upon the economics of the hard coal industry before the Coal Strike Commission. Last March his second volume, "The Anthracite Coal Communities," appeared. Mr. Roberts has had exceptional opportunities for the study of the Slavs, for in his economic and sociological investigations he has come in contact with many of these people who to-day form so important a part of the labor force used in the mining industry of the State of Pennsylvania. The author was one of the most important witnesses in behalf of the miners before the Strike Commission in 1902.

PLUNKETT, Rt. Hon. Sir Horace Curzon, Commissioner Congested Districts Board, Ireland; vice-president Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland. Promoted agricultural coöperation in Ireland since 1889; founded Irish Agricultural Organization Society. Author: "Ireland in the New Century."

MAUCLAIR, Camille, has for over ten years been connected with the principal Paris reviews, in which he has published many series

of critical studies upon contemporary art and literature in France. His critical essays, poetry and novels are widely known. Author: "Septrane Mallarnie," "Eleusis," "Sonatines d'Automne," "Jules Laforque," 1890; "Couronne de Clarté," "Les Clefs d'Or," "l'Orient Vierge," "Le Soliel des Morts," "l'Ennemie des Reves," "l'Art en Silence." Founder in 1903, with Lugné-Poe of the theatre—"l'Oeuvre."

BELLOC, Hillaire, graduate of Balliol College, Oxford; Brackenbury History Scholar, and first class in Honor History Schools. His publications are: "The Modern Traveler," "Danton," "Lambkins' Remains," "Paris," "Robespierre," "Path to Rome," "Caliban's Guide to Letters." He is engaged on the staff of the *Speaker*, London, England.

BRANDES, Georg Morris Cohen, born at Copenhagen, Denmark, 1843. The first of Danish critics by genius, and one of the great systematic critics of literature of modern times. Among his principal works are, "Æsthetic Studies," 1868; "French Æsthetics," 1869; "Criticisms and Portraits," 1870; "The Main Literary Current of the 19th Century," 1877-82. This was followed by Danish "Poems," 1877; "Ferdinand Lassalle," 1877; "European Authors of the 19th Century," 1892; "Men and Works in European Literature," 1883; "Berlin as an Imperial Court," "Impressions of Russia," 1888; "Impressions of Russia," 1888; Poems, 1899; Essays, 1890; and he has recently published a remarkably fresh and sympathetic study of Shakespeare. Brandes is a scientific critic of whom literature is itself a "criticism of life"—a disciple of Comte, of Taine, and Mill and Spencer. He resides at Copenhagen.

TOY, Crawford Howell, educator. Hancock Professor Hebrew and other Oriental Languages, Harvard, since 1880; also Dexter lecturer on biblical literature. Author: "The Religion of Israel," "Quotations in the New Testament," "Judaism and Christianity," "Hebrew Text and English Translation of Ezekiel," "Commentary on Proverbs," etc.

ZUNTZ, Professor Nathan, is Professor of Physiology at the Academy of Agriculture, Berlin, Germany. He has contributed largely to the scientific journals, and is distinguished for his researches within this field of science.

HUNTER, Robert, is widely known as the author of the book "Poverty," and has for several years been a contributor to the leading reviews of this country. His thorough investigations of the social conditions of the poorer classes have directed and inspired certain reform measures, which are of much practical good to the community.

WOODRUFF, Clinton Rogers, lawyer. He is Secretary National Municipal League; Secretary Pennsylvania Ballot Reform Association; counsel Philadelphia Municipal League; counsel American Academy Political and Social Science; member American Economist Association; editor Proceedings of the National Conferences for Good City Government since 1894; president American Park and Outdoor Art Association; member Pennsylvania State Legislature, two terms; and is contributor to leading reviews.

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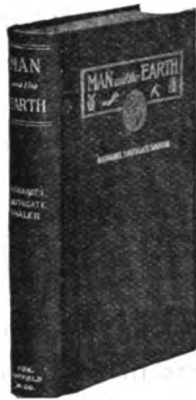
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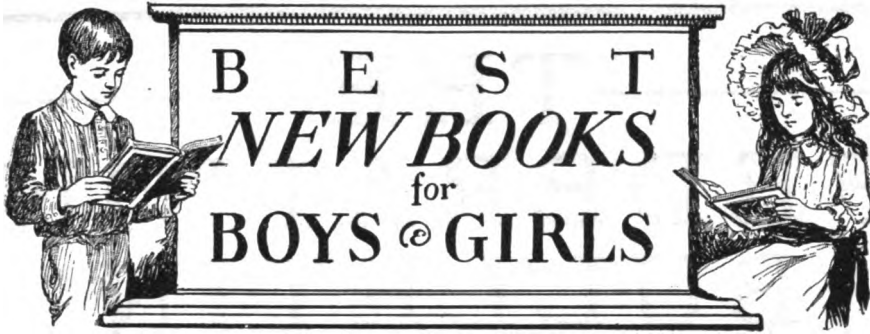
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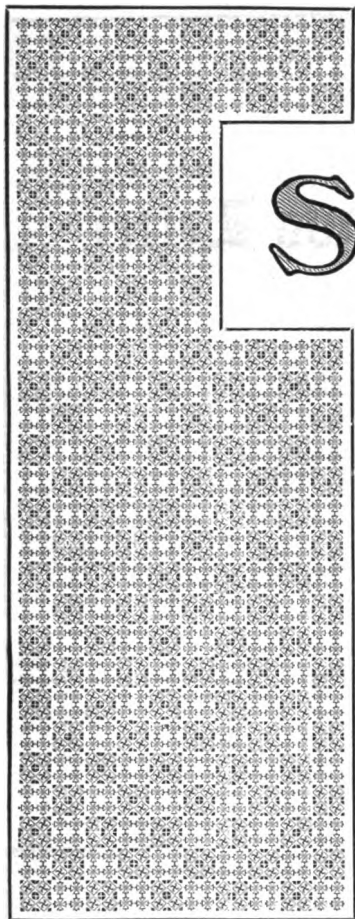
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